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Ovid

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P. Ovidi Nasonis Epistularvm Ex Ponto liber primvs

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Preface

In the modern revival of interest in Ovid's exilic poetry, the *Tristia* have long received the most attention, although his last elegies, the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, reward the reader no less and are arguably more appealing – works in which his inventiveness flourishes no less than before, and in which his imaginative self-fashioning is as ingenious and engaging, though now in a minor key, as it always was from the time of his *Amores*. Their comparative neglect resulted partly from a dearth of commentaries. Whereas Luck's commentary on the *Tristia* (1967, 1977) long made that collection more accessible, the reader of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* had until recently little beyond Keene (1887) in English and Scholte (1933) in Latin on book 1, both difficult to obtain. Now, however, Ovid's readers can look forward to the completion of M. Helzle's German commentary on all four books, of which the first volume, on books 1–2, appeared in 2003; his commentary on selected elegies of book 4 (1989) is in English. On book 2 we have Pérez Vega (1985) in Spanish and Galasso (1995) in Italian. In 2005 appeared J. F. Gaertner's commentary in English on book 1, a valuable work, whose vast scale perhaps diminishes its accessibility to some readers. I am greatly indebted to these predecessors, especially Helzle and Gaertner, in the writing of the present commentary, which, consistent with the aims of this series, is meant to assist students as well as interest scholars.

I began this work in idyllic circumstances as Blegen Fellow in the Department of Classics at Vassar College. I am deeply grateful for support also from the University Research Committee of my own institution, Emory University, and from Emory's Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry, which provided a year's leave, enabling me to complete the project. It is a pleasure to thank my colleagues at Emory for their encouragement and support. My greatest debt is to my editor, Professor E. J. Kenney, who promptly scrutinized each portion of the commentary as it was written, offering invaluable advice, recommending improvements, and rescuing me from many

errors. His vast learning in Latin literature and especially in Ovid, generously shared with so many over many decades, remains a source of inspiration and encouragement for all who pursue these studies.

Abbreviations

Abbreviations of Latin authors and works are as in the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* except *Ex P.* for *Pont.*, *F.* for *Fast.*, *Her.* for *Ep.*, *Virg.* for *Verg.*

<i>BA</i>	(ed.) J. A. Tarrant, <i>Barrington atlas of the ancient world</i> . Princeton 2000.
<i>CE</i>	F. Buecheler, <i>Carmina Latina epigraphica</i> . Leipzig 1895–7.
<i>CP</i>	(eds.) J. Diggle–F. R. D. Goodyear, <i>The classical papers of A. E. Housman</i> . 3 vols. Cambridge 1972.
<i>EGF</i>	M. Davies, <i>Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta</i> . Göttingen 1988.
Erasmus	D. Erasmus, <i>Opera omnia</i> . Amsterdam 1969–.
G–L	B. L. Gildersleeve–G. Lodge, <i>Gildersleeve's Latin grammar</i> . 3rd edn. London 1895.
<i>GLK</i>	(ed.) H. Keil, <i>Grammatici Latini</i> . 8 vols. Leipzig 1857–70, rpt. 1961.
H–S	J. B. Hofmann–A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Munich 1965.
K–H	R. Kühner–F. Holzweissig, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Erster Teil: Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre</i> . 2nd edn. Hanover 1912.

K–S	R. Kühner–C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache. Zweiter Teil: Satzlehre</i> . 2nd edn with corrections. Hanover 1976.
L–S	C. T. Lewis–C. Short, <i>A Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford 1879.
LSJ	H. G. Liddell–R. Scott, <i>A Greek–English lexicon</i> . 9th edn, rev. H. S. Jones <i>et al.</i> ; with <i>Supplement</i> ed. E. A. Barber <i>et al.</i> Oxford 1968.
LTVR	E. M. Steinby, <i>Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae</i> , 6 vols. Rome 1993–2000.
LXX	(ed.) A. Rahlfs–R. Hanhart, <i>Septuaginta: id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes</i> . 2nd edn. Stuttgart 2006.
NLS	E. C. Woodcock, <i>A new Latin syntax</i> . Cambridge, Mass. 1958.
NP	(eds.) H. Cancik–H. Schneider, <i>Brill's New Pauly: encyclopedia of the ancient world</i> . Leiden and Boston 2002–.
OLD	(ed.) P. G. W. Glare, <i>Oxford Latin dictionary</i> . Oxford 1982.
Otto	A. Otto, <i>Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer</i> . Leipzig 1890.
ROL	(ed.) E. H. Warmington, <i>Remains of old Latin</i> . 4 vols. Cambridge, Mass. and London 1935–40.

- SEG* *Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum*. Leiden 1923–.
- SH* (eds.) H. Lloyd-Jones–P. Parsons, *Supplementum Hellenisticum*. Berlin and New York 1983.
- Smyth H. W. Smyth, *Greek grammar*, rev. G. M. Messing. Cambridge, Mass. 1956.
- TLL* *Thesaurus linguae Latinae*. Munich 1900–.
- Tosi R. Tosi, *Dizionario delle sentenze latine e greche*. Milan 1991.
- Wheeler–Goold Ovid, *Tristia, Ex Ponto*, trans. A. L. Wheeler; rev. G. P. Goold. Cambridge, Mass. 1996.

Introduction

1 Letters from exile: a new vessel for old grief

Issued in 13 CE, Ovid's *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1–3 is the last collection of Augustan poetry. Augustus died in 14, and a fourth book appeared later, probably after Ovid's death in 17.¹ In 8 CE the poet, having incurred the lasting wrath of the *princeps*, had been exiled to Tomis on the Black Sea for reasons that remain unclear. By his own account there were two charges, *carmen et error* (*Tr.* 2.207). The latter he does not want discussed, telling correspondents not to ask about it (see 1.6.23–6 and the headnote to that poem), and he directs attention instead to the *carmen*, the *Ars amatoria*, which he often condemns as if it solely wrought his ruin. In exile he continued to write, issuing two collections of elegiac poems in which he laments his fate and begs for help in mitigating it. The earlier collection, the *Tristia*, is partly epistolary, the *Epistulae ex Ponto* entirely so. The latter collection is in a sense a continuation of the *Tristia* – *rebus idem, titulo differt*, he remarks in the opening poem (*Ex P.* 1.1.17): this work, ‘the same in subject matter, differs in title’. The last book of the *Tristia* contains more verse-epistles than the four earlier books and consequently signals a transition between the preceding four books and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.² In the *Tristia*, however, Ovid does not name his addressees, fearing that his verse may harm them by calling attention to their association with the disgraced and exiled poet.³ Now he not only names his addressees but turns their identification to an artistic purpose: he arranges the poems of *Ex P.* 1–3 by addressee.⁴ At the end of the collection he claims that he ‘collected and joined’ the letters ‘together somehow, without order’, *collectas utcumque sine ordine iunxi* (3.9.53). They may not seem so random to the reader, but their putative disorder serves a symbolic function, meant to illustrate the principle that ‘my muse is too true an index of my woes’, *Musa mea est index nimium quoque uera malorum* (3.9.49).⁵ In fact it is clear that he selects the addressees for each book with an eye to variety, and his careful arrangement of letters in a largely symmetrical pattern allows most

addressees to recur, some several times in the course of the three books. Thereby Ovid can bring to prominence different aspects of his relationship to a single addressee in different letters. Variety, the keynote of all Ovid's works, is especially rich in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, more so than in the *Tristia*. Here there are fewer catalogues of the poet's miseries, for the reader is expected already to have encountered those that abound in the earlier collection.⁶ A greater range of tone results from the new collection's epistolary nature. With different correspondents Ovid addresses different aspects of *amicitia*, from intimate affection towards friends, such as Brutus, Cotta Maximus and Severus, to the formal claims of obligation that he makes to a great patron such as Paullus Fabius Maximus or Messalinus. One could describe this first book of the collection as a gallery of contrasting portraits – not so much of the author or correspondent as of the relationship between them; in the variety of these portraits lies much of the intrinsic interest of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.⁷ In Poem 5, for instance, he addresses a close friend and fellow-poet, Cotta Maximus, with a rejection of poetic fame; whereas in Poem 2, addressed to Paullus Fabius Maximus, one of Rome's grandees, O. makes repeated references to his own earlier work as if to call attention to his status as Rome's premier poet, thereby suggesting that the addressee can benefit from the exiled poet's lasting reputation.⁸

2 The literary background

In the *Epistulae ex Ponto* Ovid created a generic novelty, drawing on two distinct traditions, his own earlier poetry and Horace's *Epistles*. With the letter form he returns to the *Heroides*, and the exiled poet's epistolary appeals for help will often remind the reader of the typical subject matter of his earlier collection, in which a woman of myth or tragedy, abandoned and in distress, writes to her lover or husband. Now the poet, speaking in his own voice, invites the reader to contemplate significant parallels between his own plight and that of his earlier heroines, sometimes adapting for himself language and argument that he had once given them.⁹ Ovid's other amatory

writings provide an especially rich source of allusive irony in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, notably in his presentation of himself. When in *Ex P.* 1.10, for example, he writes of his physical debility, brought on by the harsh conditions of exile, he adapts and reuses language from *Am.* 2.10 that he had employed to boast of sexual prowess and indefatigability (see headnote to 1.10).

Also richly ironic is the presence of Horace's literary epistles behind those of Ovid. Though poetic epistles existed before Horace, he first assembled a whole collection of them.¹⁰ In naming each addressee and granting some addressees several letters, Ovid sets his work in the tradition of Horace's *Epistles*, the first book especially, and invites recollection of his predecessor. There are significant parallels in content as well. Both collections take as their starting point a poet's separation from Rome and consist of letters written to friends whom the poet knows from his life there. Horace's separation, to be sure, is voluntary; he does not write from a harsh and remote exile but from a pleasant rural retirement, not far from the city, in which he aims to better himself through philosophic study. In the *Epistles* Horace retains the satirist's perspective on Rome: it is the site of distraction, both inward and outward, for the vexation brought about by its vices, as by its noise, keeps one separated from one's true self. The country is the site of ethical self-integration, its outward tranquillity corresponding to the inner tranquillity that philosophical ethics ought to achieve. Ovid's perspective on Rome is the reverse: Rome is the site of his former wholeness and contentment, of which he is now cruelly deprived, whereas life in exile is separation from himself and the equivalent of death.¹¹ In some of the letters from exile he attempts to recover his experience of Rome through memory and imagination, notably in *Ex P.* 1.8, one of the most powerful and evocative poems in the collection. In it he dwells on the remembered places of the city, not only its buildings and public squares, but also its gardens, pools and canals, thereby making an answer to Horace: Ovid integrates the tranquil and beautiful features of the country into his recollection of the urban scene, as if to deny Horace's opposition of urban and rural (see 1.8.33–8 and the headnote to that poem).

One could regard Ovid's efforts at imaginative recovery of Rome as consolatory, but if so, they are always only partially or temporarily successful, and do not compromise the intensity of his misery. In this regard it is important to recall that writing on exile before Ovid nearly always took the form of philosophical consolation. Cicero includes *de exilio* among the standard topics of *consolationes* (*Tusc.* 3.81).¹² As a philosophical sub-genre, consolatory treatises *de exilio* go back to Bion and Ariston of Chios (fourth to third centuries BCE), but the type is perhaps best appreciated in post-Ovidian examples, such as Seneca's *Ad Helviam*, written to console Seneca's mother for his own exile in Corsica (41–9 CE). The words Seneca uses to summarize a view of exile that he opposes – *carere patria intolerabile est* (*Dial.* 12.6.2) – could serve to summarize the view that Ovid promotes. The poet emphatically rejects the consolatory tradition, and includes early in *Ex P.* 1 a letter that addresses it directly. In a well-meaning but fruitless gesture, Rufinus has sent him a *consolatio*, clearly of the standard type, and 1.3 is a reply to it. Ovid rejects Rufinus' arguments and, with irreverent irony, adapts traditional *exempla* to a new theme: he attributes the heroic fortitude shown by exiles of the past to their relatively comfortable places of exile. His own, far worse, defeats any measure of fortitude (see headnote to 1.3).

Here also the case of Horace makes a revealing contrast. Ovid confronts philosophic ethics both in choosing to write about exile, which philosophers regarded as their province, and in adopting Horace as a model; for in the *Epistles* Horace makes ethical themes more prominent than in his earlier poetry. He remains, however, independent of philosophic affiliation and far from strict or dogmatic about ethical topics.¹³ Unlike a typical philosopher, for instance, Horace asserts the importance and value of the place in which he chooses to live. Philosophers, with whatever school they might be affiliated, typically argued that the wise man is everywhere at home – *omnem locum sapienti uiro patriam esse*, as Seneca puts it (*Dial.* 12.9.7). Even Rome ought in theory to be bearable to Horace, but he, taking advantage of the Stoic notion of 'preferred indifferents', is not required to endure the city. Blessed with favourable

circumstances, he can in the country enjoy a preferred, though not necessary, option. His relaxed and undogmatic approach to ethics allows him to give place an unaccustomed significance, as in the tenth poem of book 1, in which he asks, if we must live according to nature and must first choose the site of a house, whether any place is ‘preferable to the blessed country’: *uiuere naturae si conuenienter oportet | ponendaeque domo quaerenda est area primum: | nouistine locum potiolem rure beato?* (Hor. *Ep.* 1.10.12–14) By choosing to express the value of his location, rather than denying its importance, Horace gives a handle to Ovid, who, perhaps recognizing in Horace a kindred spirit blessed with a happier lot, maintained the value of place with such intensity that he considered exile to be an unqualified evil and wholly rejected philosophic consolation.

Readers familiar with the *Tristia* will recall Horatian themes explored there, which now in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* receive more prominence, as Ovid aligns his own poetic career more closely with Horace's. In *Tr.* 4.8 Ovid describes the retirement that he would have preferred, at one time withdrawing ‘at leisure to the gardens that I once owned’, at another enjoying the city: *tempus erat nec me peregrinum ducere caelum, | nec siccam Getico fonte leuare sitim, | sed modo, quos habui, uacuum secedere in hortos, | nunc hominum uisu rursus et urbe frui* (*Tr.* 4.8.25–8). These lines sound ‘very much like a précis of Horace *Epistles* 1’, as Oliensis remarks.¹⁴ By choosing to write verse epistles in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, Ovid invites the reader to consider his career together with Horace's – to recognize that Ovid, if recalled, could yet follow the Horatian pattern, and if not, that his epistles will remain in ironic contrast with Horace's, calling attention to the vast distance that separates the two poets' fates.

One sacrifice that Horace must make is separation from his friends, and he concludes *Ep.* 1.10 by remarking to his correspondent, Aristius Fuscus, that he is ‘happy in all respects except that you are not with me,’ *excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus* (50). In most cases, however, Horace's letters seem easily to overcome the distance between him and his friends. They establish a virtual dialogue, allow friendship all its intimacy, and

compensate Horace for any loss of physical proximity to his correspondents.¹⁵ Ovid attempts to achieve the same result with his letters from exile, but in vastly worse circumstances and with far less hope of success. By modelling his work in part on Horace's he both honours his predecessor's achievement and sets his own in ironic contrast to it. The harsh conditions of his exile could hardly differ more from Horatian retirement, which indeed resembles the comfortable exile of many early Romans, in whose day 'Tibur was the remotest place for exiles', as Ovid remarks, with some exaggeration, at *Ex P.* 1.3.82 (see *ad loc.*). The largely unclouded friendships with which Horace presents us resemble only some of Ovid's. His letters to Cotta Maximus (two in the first book, 1.5 and 1.9) and Severus (1.8) are warmly intimate; and he regards Brutus (1.1) with trust and affection, apparently considering him to be his literary executor in Rome (see the headnotes to these poems). Yet Ovid portrays difficult, strained and fractious friendships as well, like that of Messalinus (1.7), and some that are painfully distant, most notably that of Paullus Fabius Maximus (1.2).

Not only Horace, but other Augustan contemporaries and predecessors contribute as well to Ovid's conception of poetry on exile; our awareness of them enriches our appreciation of this latest collection. In 1.8, for instance, Ovid draws on that most influential depiction of exile, Virgil's first *Eclogue*, in which the shepherd Meliboeus, his lands confiscated, must leave his country; he laments his plight to Tityrus, who by contrast has made a successful plea to Octavian and consequently can remain at home in possession of his lands. When in 1.8 Ovid imagines himself as a farmer and elaborates a fantasy of idealized rural life, he associates himself with Meliboeus by alluding to his words. Thereby the fate of Virgil's shepherd prefigures Ovid's (see headnote to 1.8).

Reminiscences of Tibullus' evocations of rural peace further enrich the same passage in 1.8,¹⁶ and indeed Tibullus figures prominently throughout book 1 of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. In 1.6 Ovid celebrates the power of the goddess Hope to sustain mortals even in the worst misery, adapting both style and *exempla* from an elegy of Tibullus (Tib. 2.6.19–28). He pointedly reminds his readers of the earlier

elegy's context and takes over Tibullus' self-presentation for his own: just as Hope rescued Tibullus when he was driven to suicide by the miseries of love, so she rescues Ovid, in whose case the miseries of exile have succeeded those of love. The close parallel that he draws between himself and Tibullus shows how small a distance sometimes separates amatory and exilic elegy. The following letter, 1.7, recalls the style of Tibullan elegy in its abrupt shifts and unpredictable direction. Addressed to Messalinus, the eldest son of Messala Corvinus, who had been a patron of both Tibullus and Ovid, it recalls a happier time in Ovid's life both in its praise of Messala and in its style (see the headnotes to 1.6 and 1.7).

3 The higher genres and Ovidian hyperbole

The literary background of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* is not confined to elegy and epistle, traditionally humble genres, but extends also to those regarded as higher and weightier, hymn,¹⁷ for instance, and mythological epic. Virgil's *Aeneid* makes an early and striking appearance in the first poem. Having declared that the august topic of *laudes deorum* is his subject matter (1.1.29) – the 'praises of the gods' and especially of Augustus – Ovid compares his book to Aeneas, or rather Aeneas' neck and shoulders, which physically carried his father Anchises, just as Ovid's book metaphorically 'carries' Aeneas' descendant Augustus (35 *fert liber Aeneaden*; cf. 31–6n.). In this extravagantly panegyric language there is more than a trace of Ovidian wit, yet Ovid also claims for his own work the same function that Virgil's epic performs and, at least for the moment, assumes Virgil's mantle for himself. In an extended passage of 1.4 he matches his own miseries with those of Jason, hero of epics by Apollonius and Varro Atacinus, and finds his own sufferings to be far worse than any of Jason's ordeals (1.4.23–44; see the headnote to 1.4). This may not be much of an exaggeration in view of Apollonius' hero, who performs his feats with little trouble and owes his success largely to Medea;¹⁸ but it is rhetorically effective for Ovid's purposes: to present his miseries the more forcefully by drawing on the reader's memory of epic. Such *comparationes* are a feature of his exilic poetry: in *Tr.* 1.5 he

describes his own sufferings as worse than those of Ulysses, and therefore a better topic for learned poets, and he returns to this theme in *Ex P.* 4.10. Ovid addresses the *comparatio* of 1.4 to his wife, then concludes the letter by imagining a reunion with her modelled on that of Ulysses and Penelope in the *Odyssey* (see 1.4.45–58n.). Ovid's skilful integration of epic features into elegy is reflected also in the allusive texture: the same passage draws also on an elegy of Propertius, 2.18, which praises the loyalty of the goddess Aurora to her aged husband Tithonus.

Ovid's own highly unconventional epic, the *Metamorphoses*, also provides him with *exempla* of misery and grief, which his woes easily surpass. He calls Niobe and Phaethon's sisters happy, intense as their grief was, because transformation ended it, whereas his own continues unabated (see 1.2.29–40n.). By comparing himself to Niobe, the *exemplum par excellence* of grief and a larger-than-life figure with tragic associations, Ovid heightens the rhetorical impact of his misery and elevates his self-representation. Because he had given Niobe extended treatment in the *Metamorphoses* (6.146–312), his mention of her in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* also serves to reinforce the newly canonical status of his earlier *opus*, reminding the reader that it is Rome's most important poet who suffers so cruel a fate.¹⁹

Ovid regularly employs reference to the higher genres in order to represent the punishment inflicted upon him by Augustus in symbolic terms. His use of the myth of the Gigantomachy provides a characteristic example, which gains rhetorical force from its familiarity to readers of his time. In Ovid's own account at *Met.* 1.151–62 we learn how 'they say that the giants tried to gain power over heaven', *adfectasse ferunt regnum caeleste Gigantas* (*Met.* 1.152); when the Giants pile up mountains to scale heaven, a thunderbolt hurled by Jupiter knocks them down. The term *ferunt* points to the myth as a familiar theme (see 1.1.34n. *dicitur*). Gigantomachy is specifically associated with the epic genre, 'a recurrent subject for writers or artists seeking a grand or sublime topic', as Hardie remarks²⁰ – hardly a fit topic for elegy, one might suppose, and indeed in *Am.* 2.1.11–16 Ovid claims to have begun a Gigantomachy, only to abandon it when his mistress shut him out.

Then, because Jupiter's weapons are of no use in the present crisis, he takes up once again his proper weapons, 'flattery' and 'light elegies' (21 *blanditias elegosque leues, mea tela, resumpsi*).²¹ In the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, however, he readily appropriates the theme for an elegiac context. In *Ex P.* 2.2 he contrasts himself with the Giants to emphasize that his punishment, unlike theirs, outweighs his misdeed; for he never imagined that he could 'rouse war against the gods' as they did: *non ego concepi, si Pelion Ossa tulisset, | clara mea tangi sidera posse manu, | nec nos Enceladi dementia castra secuti | in rerum dominos mouimus arma deos* (*Ex P.* 2.2.9–12). These lines allude to Ovid's own version in the *Metamorphoses*,²² which was likely to be familiar to his readers; familiar also was the frankly political association of the myth, in which Ovid assimilates Augustus to the angry gods even as he distances himself from the Giants.²³ Here Ovid grants the myth two couplets, but he need only touch on it in passing to evoke a profound response from readers attuned to it and to its contemporary political resonance. At *Ex P.* 1.1.26 one line only suffices. Addressing the three books of his new collection, their author tells them they have nothing to fear, for the writings of Antony and Brutus are still read (see 1.1.25–6n.). He is not mad enough to compare himself with them: 'yet I did not bear savage weapons against the gods': *nec me nominibus furiosus confero tantis: | saeua deos contra non tamen arma tuli* (1.1.25–6).

Ovid's comparisons of himself to figures of myth and epic are hyperbolic, for they 'outstrip the truth', as one rhetorician defines the function of hyperbole,²⁴ 'for the sake of magnifying or diminishing something'; and they do so in a characteristic way by comparing small things to great. When Ovid asserts that his woes are worse than those of Niobe, Actaeon or Jason, and contrasts himself with the Giants, he elevates himself, at least for the moment, to the mythic level and introduces a strain of epic grandeur into elegy. Hyperbole in ancient poetry generally, and especially Ovidian hyperbole, is often misunderstood and can be hard for modern readers to appreciate.²⁵ To understand its function in the exilic poetry, a glance at Virgil's use of the trope is helpful. In a valuable discussion, Hardie defends Virgilian hyperbole against its detractors,

such as Housman, who regards it as ‘language too grand for the occasion’, offending against decorum in its excess.²⁶ Hardie argues that in Virgil's hands it is in fact decorous, a ‘fitting exaggeration of the truth’, as Quintilian would later define the trope (*Inst.* 8.67 *decens ueri superiectio*). Among other reasons, the greatness of the subject-matter justifies it: ‘a lack of stylistic moderation in the *Aeneid* corresponds to an absence of measure in the subject-matter itself’.²⁷ More significantly, hyperbole can link two or more conceptual levels, as for instance the cosmic and the human, the supernatural and the natural, the mythical and the historical.²⁸ When Aeneas comes forth, eager to meet Turnus in battle, Virgil compares him to mountains – Athos, Eryx or ‘father Appenninus himself’ – in one of his most extreme hyperboles: *quantus Athos aut quantus Eryx aut ipse coruscis | cum fremit ilicibus quantus gaudetque niuali | uertice se tollens pater Appenninus ad auras* (*Aen.* 12.701–3). The comparison, extravagant as it is,²⁹ aptly serves Virgil's purposes, not only magnifying the hero but also linking him to the features of the natural world, specifically the landscape of Greece, Sicily and Italy, as if to recapitulate his earlier journey. Because Aeneas' story is inextricably interwoven with the divine, cosmic and natural realms, this instance of hyperbole serves a significant thematic end and reinforces in the reader's mind a central conception of the work.

Ovid's hyperbole in the exilic poetry is no less closely tied to its thematic conceptions. It does not, as in Virgil, reinforce a set of sublime correspondences in the nature of things. Rather the opposite: the exiled poet, his life shattered, sees a world out of joint and bereft of those features that once gave it coherence. Hyperbole, the trope of excess, aids him in bringing this disordered vision before the reader's mind. Whereas Virgil's goal in the *Aeneid* is to link cosmic and human, myth and history, his tropes serving this goal, Ovid's representation of exile has no commitment to any such radical decorum. He often points out that his punishment is in excess of his crime: his exile is far from appropriate.³⁰ When, in the instance mentioned above (1.1.25–6), he asserts that he did not take up arms against the gods, hyperbole, comparing great things with small, mythological subjects with personal, points up the lack of

appropriateness in his punishment, to the representation of which an indecorous style is fitting. The Giants' punishment was in proportion to their crime, whereas Antony and Brutus perhaps enjoyed a better posthumous fate than they might have expected – after all, their books are still read; but for Ovid a venial misdeed received an out-of-proportion punishment.

Behind Ovid's denial of any resemblance to the Giants – apart from the penalty that both he and they received – lies the unspoken image of Augustus, identified with Jupiter wielding the thunderbolt.³¹ Augustus, elevated to divine status, fits his role in the Gigantomachy, whereas Ovid has no place there. The hyperbolic language of Gigantomachy is ideally suited to arouse in the reader's mind a keen sense of this disparity between fault and punishment, fitting the unfitness, cruelty and scandal of Ovid's exile. It is his natural form of expression in the exilic poetry.

In the examples of hyperbole just described, Ovid engages the higher genres, taking advantage of their resonant associations in the reader's mind. Equally prominent is another type of hyperbole, less noticeably allusive, by which the poet exaggerates descriptive details of his life in exile with the goal of rhetorical intensification: the extremity of his suffering draws from him language that is even more extreme. Such hyperbole likewise reinforces thematic conceptions and is appropriate in a sense, fitting the extreme degree of his pain. It is directly expressive, and its intended emotional impact depends on the reader's recognizing that its appropriateness justifies its extremity: Ovid invites his readers to perceive a correspondence between language, however extreme, and the reality of his suffering, the intensity of which can only be represented by such language. When he writes, for instance, that 'my tears are endless, except when stupor obstructs them', *fine carent lacrimae, nisi cum stupor obstitit illis* (1.2.27), his words are likely to strike the reader as exaggerated, yet appropriate to the author's representation of his misery and consistent with his typical means of portraying it. This type of hyperbole, frankly rhetorical in function and aimed at moving the emotions of the reader, is well recognized in ancient sources. Macrobius, though writing long after Ovid's time, nevertheless

defines the trope's function in a way that suits the exilic poetry: 'hyperbole, that is superabundance, produces an emotional response; through hyperbole is expressed anger or pity'.³² Macrobius cites Virgilian examples, but Ovid's attacks on an unnamed enemy in the *Tristia*, *Epistulae ex Ponto* and *Ibis* could as well exemplify hyperbole used to express anger, and his numerous passages on the topic of *asperitas loci* are meant to arouse pity in the reader.³³ His claim that at Tomis winter is joined to winter without a break is certainly exaggerated, aimed at heightening the impact of a context in which other details, such as the absence of trees, are largely accurate:³⁴ *adde loci faciem nec fronde nec arbore laeti, | et quod iners hiemi continuatur hiems* (1.2.23–4). His many references to Scythia as his place of exile similarly exaggerate the truth: taking advantage of the fact that the area around Tomis was known as Scythia Minor, he opportunistically conflates that small coastal area, south of the Danube, with the vast expanse of Scythia north and north-east of it.³⁵

It is not surprising that exaggerations of this kind show a concern on the author's part for their plausibility, for rhetorical writers were well aware that hyperbole can fail of its intended effect, and no doubt poets were as well. Ps.-Longinus, writing later in the first century, begins his discussion of the trope with a cautionary observation: τὸ γὰρ ἐνίστε περαιτέρω προεκπίπτειν ἀναιρεῖ ὑπερβολήν, 'to go beyond proper limits sometimes ruins hyperbole' (38.1). He discusses it throughout in terms of its credibility: μήποτε' οὐκ ἄρισται τῶν ὑπερβολῶν...αἱ αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαλανθάνουσαι ὅτι εἰσὶν ὑπερβολαί. γίνεται δὲ τὸ τοιόνδε, ἐπειδὴν ὑπὸ ἐκπαθείας μεγέθει τινὲ συνεκφωνῶνται περιστάσεως, 'perhaps the best hyperboles... are those that render unnoticeable the very fact that they are hyperboles. Such a thing happens when they are uttered under stress of emotion at the time of some great crisis' (38.3). His examples, drawn from historians, are likely to strike the reader as only mildly hyperbolic, as when Herodotus reports that those fighting at Thermopylae were 'buried with arrows': ἐνταῦθα, οἷόν ἐστι τὸ καὶ στόμασι μάχεσθαι πρὸς ὣπλισμένους καὶ ὁποῖόν τι τὸ κατακεχῶσθαι βέλεσιν, ἐρεῖς, πλὴν ὁμοίως ἔχει πίστιν· οὐ γὰρ τὸ

πρᾶγμα ἔνεκα τῆς ὑπερβολῆς παραλαμβάνεσθαι δοκεῖ, ἡ ὑπερβολὴ δ' εὐλόγως γεννᾶσθαι πρὸς τοῦ πράγματος, 'at this point you will ask what sort of thing it is to "fight with teeth" and to be "buried with arrows"; yet it likewise bears credence, for Herodotus does not seem to introduce the incident for the sake of the hyperbole, but the hyperbole for the sake of the incident' (38.4). Ovid's hyperboles are bolder, as befits poetry, but he likewise appears concerned to render them credible by similar means. He may have supposed, like Ps.-Longinus, that their function in communicating powerful emotion from author to reader itself makes them credible,³⁶ and for the most part he keeps them within limits. When at 1.2.23–4, quoted above, he claims that the winter is continuous, he sets this exaggeration within a context of plausible and indeed accurate details about the harshness of the climate.

Ovid's misery is, however, a special case, in which the two means of producing credible hyperbole are at odds; for to render his misery in emotionally adequate terms may well take hyperbole beyond credible limits. Early in the *Tristia* he sounds a recurring note, that he has endured woes that pass belief and 'will not achieve credence, although they happened'. It is noteworthy that this reflection follows closely upon characteristically hyperbolic language comparing their number to the stars in heaven and grains of dust: *tot mala sum passus, quot in aethere sidera lucent | paruaque quot siccus corpora pulvis habet: | multaque credibili tulimus maiora ratamque, | quamuis acciderint, non habitura fidem* (*Tr.* 1.5.47–50).³⁷ Woes that surpass belief and hyperbolic language are closely joined. Ovid clearly relies on such language as a means of bringing such woes before readers' minds and of stirring their emotions, yet just as not every reader will find the woes themselves credible, so their hyperbolic expression may strike some readers as excessive.

There are in fact several hints in book 4 of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* that indicate an incredulous reaction on the part of some contemporary readers to Ovid's portrayal of the conditions under which he lived, once the three-book collection had become known. In a catalogue of his dangers and miseries addressed to his fellow-poet Albinovanus Pedo he remarks that visitors from Rome tell him of the

disbelief that his woes meet with there: *qui ueniunt istinc, uix uos ea credere dicunt. | quam miser est, qui fert asperiora fide!* (Ex P. 4.10.35–6). In two other letters he defends his credibility by appealing to the testimony of Roman military officials who knew the lower Danube from personal experience.³⁸ Inland from Tomis was the town of Aegisos, of whose recapture we learn in book 1 (see 1.8.11–24n.). Vestalis, a centurion who had participated in that action, later returned to Moesia as imperial prefect, and Ovid writes to him on this occasion, remarking that Vestalis can observe for himself the truth of Ovid's account, 'a witness that I am not accustomed to utter false complaints': *aspicis en praesens, quali iaceamus in aruo, | nec me testis eris falsa solere queri...ipse uides certe glacie concregere Pontum, | ipse uides rigido stantia uina gelu; | ipse uides, onerata ferox ut ducat lazyx | per medias Histri plaustra bubulcus aquas. | aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro, | et telum causas mortis habere duas* (Ex P. 4.7.3–4, 7–12).³⁹ In Ex P. 4.9, addressed to P. Pomponius Graecinus, consul in 16 CE, Ovid recounts the exploits of Graecinus' brother Flaccus in Ovid's vicinity and recommends Flaccus as a trustworthy authority on the climate of the region, its dangers and barbarity. Graecinus can ask Flaccus 'whether I am lying' about these matters:⁴⁰ *quaere loci faciem Scythicique incommoda caeli, | et quam uicino terrear hoste roga: | sintne litae tenues serpentis felle sagittae, | fiat an humanum uictima dira caput: | mentiar, an coeat duratus frigore Pontus, | et teneat glacies iugera multa freti* (Ex P. 4.9.81–6).

Ovid is concerned to defend the credibility of his woes and the harsh conditions under which he lives, which he so often presents in hyperbolic language; and he was well aware that some could find them incredible. He could scarcely have anticipated, however, that his poems – and specifically their hyperbolic language – would in our time be used to support a perverse thesis that he was never exiled and did not in fact go to the Black Sea at all. Introduced by J. J. Hartmann in 1913 and variously supported and refuted since then, the thesis was revived by Fitton Brown in 1985,⁴¹ who imagines that Ovid, uncondemned, safe at home, and unmotivated by any of the grief and pain expressed in the exilic poetry, composed his two large

collections of elegies, plus the *Ibis*, as a bizarre exercise. The intellectual context of the theory, as revived in the 1980s, is a reaction to the once common biographical approach to Republican and Augustan poetry and its exploitation for historical data.⁴² Following the lead of critics in the field of English literature,⁴³ classicists recognized that the rhetorical use of literary convention and allusion guides Roman poets' presentation of their own lives no less than of other topics. Whether or not Horace really left behind his shield on the battlefield of Philippi, as he asserts in *Carm.* 2.7, there is no reason to doubt that he was at Philippi. In representing that fact in lyric verse he naturally alludes to Archilochus 5 w. and Alcaeus fr. 428 L-P,⁴⁴ recognizing that he has much to gain rhetorically from doing so. Associating himself with canonical lyric poets of the Greek past, he defines his work and elevates himself in his readers' eyes to the status of his great predecessors. Ovid likewise clothes the conditions of his life in exile in allusive language and takes full advantage of the literary conventions available to him. To deny, however, that there is any actual experience behind a poet's self-representation is unnecessarily reductive, trivializing it and robbing it of its rhetorical impact. The revival of this theory also coincides with a hyperscepticism about historical sources that became widespread in the 1970s and 1980s, which one finds exemplified also in the notion that Herodotus also never went to the Black Sea.⁴⁵ Proponents of such readings typically suppose that discovery of literary convention in an author's writings precludes any historical credibility in them or indeed any connection between them and human experience outside the experience of literary convention, narrowly conceived. Writers of all kinds, however, when writing of their own experience, represent it in forms that are at least partly conventional, recognizing that these forms make that experience comprehensible and persuasive to their readers.

Fitton Brown's case, which has been well refuted by Little,⁴⁶ is partly based on a historical argument from silence – later historians such as Tacitus, Suetonius and Dio never mention Ovid's exile, though they might be expected to do so⁴⁷ – but is mainly an incredulous rejection of Ovidian hyperbole, part of the long tradition,

mentioned above, of hostile intolerance of it. Unwilling to accept it as exaggeration of actual conditions, Fitton Brown distinguishes instead an 'unreality resulting from statements so grossly false as to throw doubt on the plausibility of the general situation to which they purport to refer.'⁴⁸ His examples include some discussed above: the continuous cold, the frozen wine. Whether such exaggerations are 'grossly false' or not may be a matter of opinion, but for Fitton Brown Ovid's literary and rhetorical presentation of his exile itself rules out credibility: 'Now of course there is a reason for all these extraordinary statements: Ovid is simply refurbishing Virgil's description of the Frozen North in *Georgics* 3.349–383.'⁴⁹ He does indeed allude to Virgil's description, but that fact does not prove that he had no experience of his own to draw upon. Allusion is indeed rhetorically effective, heightening a description by calling upon the reader's memory to supplement it.⁵⁰ Fitton Brown insists upon too rigid a separation between factual account and rhetorical presentation, failing to recognize the fact that all discourse is rhetorical: no one presents facts, exaggerated or not, except to make a case. His own discussion is as rhetorical as Ovid's, as Helzle points out,⁵¹ and in its abusive language – Ovid's exaggerations are described as a 'farrago of nonsense'⁵² – even approaches hyperbole.

All discourse is exposed to resistant readings, especially, one may suppose, conspicuously rhetorical discourse, which, in urging a case, may provoke the audience to take an opposing view. Augustus and later Tiberius, potentially the most important readers, were certainly not persuaded, if indeed they took notice of Ovid's writings from exile. Fitton Brown's thesis is a more extreme form of resistant reading, a rejection of any truth behind Ovid's presentation of himself and his circumstances. As was remarked above, one often recalls the *Heroides* in reading the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. For Fitton Brown, the author's impulse to produce these two collections is identical, both alike productions of his myth-making genius: 'if, in the *Heroides*, he could assume the *persona* of legendary men and women, could he not assume the *persona* of an exile?'⁵³ Surely, one might suppose, if the poet were speaking *in propria persona*, his forms of expression

would less resemble those of his poems on legendary themes. If he were truthful in presenting his circumstances as disastrously changed, why would his epistolary writing from exile be so literary, why would it recall the fictional letters of the *Heroides*? The answer is that it is truthful in a deeper sense than that demanded by those who imagine the possibility of a purely factual account, devoid of rhetoric, and therefore trustworthy. Language used to represent real pain is not essentially different from that used to represent fictional pain. Every style, however straightforward or plain, is meant to win over its reader,⁵⁴ and for the *Epistulae ex Ponto* Ovid naturally draws on the same supply of tropes that he drew on when composing letters for legendary heroines. To do so is not to ‘fictionalize’ his experience of exile,⁵⁵ but to acknowledge that there are not different languages available to express the true and the legendary. This fact ought to be regarded not as cause for regret, but rather as pure gain. Certainly for Ovid's more sympathetic Roman readers, it was no cause to call into question the truth of his self-presentation. Rather, the presence of the *Heroides* behind the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, if the reader is aware of it, grants the later work greater impact, a more forceful impression of the author's actual life in exile.

In his influential work on Ovid's exilic poetry, G. D. Williams rejects Fitton Brown's extreme conclusions, but takes a comparably sceptical view of Ovid's credibility. He does so in reaction to a long tradition of treating the exilic poetry in general, and the *Epistulae ex Ponto* in particular, as a quarry for historical ‘facts’, rightly recognizing that this historical treatment long resulted in neglect of the poems’ literary character, especially their generic associations and their reliance on literary convention.⁵⁶ In discussing the siege of Aegisos in *Ex P.* 1.8, Williams rightly emphasizes the elevated style of Ovid's account, replete with epic vocabulary and allusion, and rightly identifies its highly literary reference to epic as a feature that integrates the digression on Aegisos into 1.8 as a whole, all of whose sections share in a dense allusive style.⁵⁷ Yet he is too sceptical in supposing that its stylistic character makes its historical validity questionable: ‘Ovid may well be inventing a campaign which never took place.’⁵⁸ It is ironic that Williams questions the credibility

of Ovid's account of the siege of Aegisos in view of the fact that *Ex P.* 4.7, the poem to Vestalis, mentioning that campaign, is one in which he defends his credibility against contemporary sceptics. As was mentioned above, in book 4 Ovid shows awareness of scepticism among his contemporaries, but can hardly be blamed for not anticipating standards of 'historically acceptable evidence' that present-day sceptics require.⁵⁹

Ex P. 4.7 is a panegyric in which Ovid, after calling upon Vestalis as a witness to the truth of conditions in the region, praises his military exploits, comparing them to those of heroes of epic and drawing on his full poetic armament of hyperbolic language.⁶⁰ He compares, for instance, Vestalis to Ajax, defending the Greek ships, and finds it difficult to tell the number of enemies dispatched in hand-to-hand combat: *talis apud Troiam Danaïs pro nauibus Ajax | dicitur Hectoreas sustinuisse faces. | ut propius uentum est admotaque dextera dextrae | resque fero potuit comminus ense geri, | dicere difficile est, quid Mars tuus egerit illic, | quotque neci dederis quosque quibusque modis.* (4.7.41–6) Williams several times mentions hyperbole and 'gross exaggeration' as supporting his scepticism: 'Literary cliché, stylized vocabulary, gross exaggeration – all combine to form a picture of military heroism which is surely stretched beyond the bounds of belief.'⁶¹ To fault ancient panegyric by such standards of 'belief' is anachronistic; for these features, including hyperbole, are standard features of panegyric; Ovid and his readers took them for granted as appropriate to such a theme as the exploits of a military leader. Some contemporary readers doubted his woes and the harshness of the conditions that caused them, but in the passages of *Ex P.* 4 in which Ovid brings forward witnesses to his credibility, he does not need to come to the defence of his panegyric passages.

As Hardie remarks, 'It needs no appeal to ancient rhetoricians to show that hyperbole is one of the most natural devices for panegyric.'⁶² Panegyric functions by *amplificatio*, augmenting the subject's positive characteristics, and hyperbole lends itself to this goal; invective correspondingly augments blameworthy characteristics, diminishing the subject. Comparison, as the

rhetoricians emphasize, is especially useful in achieving both goals,⁶³ and in Ovid's case, such comparisons can be double-edged. When, for instance, he compares Augustus to Jupiter wielding his thunderbolt, hyperbole lifts a mortal to divine status and facilitates the poet's praise; but at the same time the poet reminds us that he is a victim of that thunderbolt. In 1.7 Ovid praises Augustus' clemency in remarkable terms, saying that the *princeps* used his thunderbolt *modice*, 'moderately'; but then immediately emphasizes the grievous nature of the resulting wound: *ipse suas etiam uires inhiheret Achilles, | missa graues ictus Pelias hasta dabat* (1.7.51–2). These terms, a hyperbolic comparison drawing on epic, are the perfect means to achieve a paradoxical poetic goal: Ovid praises Augustus' *clementia* while simultaneously calling attention to the cruelty and excess of his condemnation.⁶⁴

In one common form of hyperbolic comparison, typical of panegyric, the subject outdoes some divine being or hero in laudatory exploits. Ovid says of Vestalis, for instance, that his valor surpasses that of all others as much as Pegasus surpassed swift horses: *sed tantum uirtus alios tua praeterit omnes, | ante citos quantum Pegasus ibat equos* (4.7.51–2). A more famous example of 'outbidding syncrisis', as Hardie calls this type of comparison, is Virgil's panegyric of Augustus in *Aeneid* 6, put into the mouth of Anchises in the underworld.⁶⁵ The accomplishments of two divine benefactors of mankind cannot match Augustus': Hercules did not traverse so much of the world in accomplishing his labours, nor did Bacchus (*Aen.* 6.801–5). Ovid takes over this traditional form of 'outbidding syncrisis' from panegyric and boldly adapts it to the description of his own woes in exile, where it remains just as hyperbolic but now serves a new purpose. As was mentioned earlier, in extended passages in *Tr.* 1.5 and *Ex P.* 4.10 he matches the hardships of Ulysses against his own, asserting that the latter are far more severe, and in *Ex P.* 1.4 offers his wife a similar comparison between his hardships and those of Jason (see the headnote to 1.4). For Williams, this form of hyperbole is no more persuasive than the panegyric of Vestalis,⁶⁶ but more sympathetic readers, reflecting on the Romans' familiarity with panegyric modes of thought and

expression, may see in these comparisons an ingenious and original adaptation of poetic tradition in the hands of a master. We ought to accept, indeed to admire hyperbole as a natural and flexible means of expression for the Roman poet, serviceable in his efforts to match his woes with those of heroes, to represent Augustus' paradoxical presence in his life, to win over his readers and enable them, if not to take an adequate measure of life in exile, at least to form a powerful impression, despite the distance between writer and audience, of its severity.

4 Names in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*

The presence of the addressees' names in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* is a striking difference between that collection and the *Tristia*, whose epistolary poems are addressed to specific people, but with their names suppressed. As was remarked above, Ovid organizes the later collection by addressee, making the naming of addressees an integral part of its structure. The identification of names also puts the author in a new relationship with his addressees. In the *Tristia* caution prevents Ovid from naming them, although he longs to do so, and his friends earlier had been willing to read their names in his verse.⁶⁷ He fears that he will injure them by naming them, evidently because association with the disgraced exile will bring them into suspicion, and suggests that he is complying with a request from some that they not be named: *ne tamen officio memoris laedaris amici, | parebo iussis (parce timere) tuis* (*Tr.* 5.9.33–4). This promise not to name his friends occurs in the last book of the *Tristia*, so it may come as a surprise that his Muse throws off this restraint at the beginning of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. The subject matter of the new collection, we are told, is the same; but each letter discloses the recipient without concealing his name. Ovid's friends are still unwilling to be named but they cannot prevent it: *rebus idem, titulo differt; et epistula cui sit | non occultato nomine missa docet. | nec uos hoc uultis, sed nec prohibere potestis, | Musaque ad inuitos officiosa uenit* (*Ex P.* 1.1.17–20). His approach to his addressees is now more forceful, more peremptory than it was in epistolary poems of the *Tristia*. As a result, it is not enough to point out, as Nagle does,

that Ovid's aim in naming his friends is to immortalize them, contributing to their *fama* and recording their names for posterity: 'Ovid immortalises his own name by publicising it and exhorting his friends and readers to keep it alive, and he rewards his friends for actively remembering him by immortalising them, i.e. by putting their names in his poetry.'⁶⁸ This is no doubt a goal of his regarding those addressees with whom he is intimate and on good terms, and who could be expected to welcome the mention of their names in letters published to the wider world; but from others he expects a cooler reception and recognizes that a letter from him could meet with outright rejection. With Messalinus, for instance, the recipient of 1.7 and 2.2, he tries to claim friendship, yet expresses fear that Messalinus will deny it (see 1.7.17–20 and the headnote to 1.7). Such an addressee, distant and more than likely to resist any approach, may well not want immortality in an exile's verse; but his name appears there nonetheless. Dropping the cautious discretion of the *Tristia*, Ovid now makes public demands on his addressees by name, implicating them willy nilly in his effort to procure recall or mitigation of his sentence.

Oliensis gives a political interpretation to the suppression of names in the *Tristia*, understanding it as a comment on the prevailing suspicion and lack of free expression at Rome.⁶⁹ Such a view is consistent with the fear that Ovid expresses for his friends' safety, should he identify them. How are we to understand Ovid's later willingness to introduce his addressees' names? Some suppose that it is evidence of amelioration of conditions in Rome; Scholte even concludes that Augustus' anger had diminished, and consequently Ovid's friendship presented less danger to those he addressed.⁷⁰ Whether or not that is true, Ovid's naming, part of his more forceful appeal for help, could be seen as a more active initiative on his part, as a refusal to acknowledge conditions back in Rome: he denies the hold of censorship and restraint over him, in this respect at least putting himself on a level with Augustus.⁷¹

For the Romans names held real power in prayer and curse, praise and blame. In the *Tristia* he withheld names of both friend and foe; now, asserting his willingness to use names, he more effectively

praises a friend by identifying him and more powerfully condemns an enemy by keeping him nameless. At *Ex P.* 4.16.3–4 *et mihi nomen... erat* Ovid tells his nameless enemy that he himself had a name, even when counted among the living, i.e. before his exile. In the long list that follows, the contemporary poets, his friends, gain presence through his naming of them, but the enemy remains a ghost (5–46). More than that, however, do the stylistic resources of Ovid's poetry allow him to achieve. In the *Metamorphoses* he had blurred the boundaries between words and things in representing transformation, granting the physical nature of words, as spoken or read, thematic importance;⁷² in the exilic poetry his style serves a comparable function, to identify people with their names. Unable to return to Rome himself, he makes his name a substitute for himself, as if to transform himself into his name. It can be present there and serve as an object for his friends' affection: *Nasonisque tui, quod adhuc non exulat unum, | nomen ama: Scythicus cetera Pontus habet* (*Tr.* 3.4.45–6). Both Oliensis and Hardie speak of Ovid's 'nominal presence' in the *Tristia* as a conspicuous contrast to the absence of his friends' names: 'by way of compensation for the attenuation and figurative termination of Ovid's life, the nominal presence of the poet himself is repeatedly foregrounded in the *Tristia*.'⁷³ Both critics emphasize the 'detachability' of author and name, the name functioning as a marker of the author's absence. Hardie's comment on the contrast, in the lines just quoted, of *nomen* and *cetera* is that 'self has been exiled from name'.⁷⁴ *Cetera*, however, is not the self, only 'the rest'. The author's name gains in significance by its separation from his physical self: Ovid is eager to become his name, which, like his writings, can leave 'the rest' behind and take his place in Rome, loved by his friends.

Ovid's nominal presence is conspicuous in the *Tristia*, but more so in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. The first word of the new collection is *Naso*, and the author does not, as in the earlier collection, wait until the seventh poem to name himself (*Tr.* 1.7.10); in no other Greek or Roman collection of poetry does the author's name have such a prominent position, beginning the first line (see 1.1.1n.). The *Epistulae ex Ponto* is full of the names of his contemporaries, some

of whom are known only here. Not only does Ovid name his addressees and thrust his own name into greater prominence, he also fills his pages with the names of local tribes, kings and chieftains, and those of Roman military leaders, fellow-poets back in Rome and members of the imperial family. His struggle, long drawn out, to accommodate the intractable name Tuticanus in elegiac verse (*Ex P.* 4.12) calls attention to the special place that names have in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

It is not the detachability, but the interchangeability of name and self that is prominent in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, a feature only of Ovid's name in the *Tristia*, now extended to his correspondents as well. By setting his friends' names near his own in the greetings of many letters, Ovid conceptually reunites himself with them, in some cases immediately juxta-posing the two names: *ille tuos quondam non ultimus inter amicos, | ut sua uerba legas, Maxime, Naso rogat* (1.5.1–2), *condita disparibus numeris ego Naso Salano | praeposita misi uerba salute meo* (2.5.1–2).⁷⁵ To the listener's ear and reader's eye the names are physically perceptible in close proximity, and Ovid achieves in the reader's experience a form of contact with his friends, who are no longer distant in every respect. In such greetings Ovid enriches an epistolary convention by drawing on the symbolic resources of poetic word-order.⁷⁶ To enable these greetings to achieve their thematic function in overcoming distance and reuniting friends conceptually, he returns to a stylistic feature already developed and made significant in the *Metamorphoses*, especially in the story of Ceyx and Alcyone in book 11. One may well recall, reading the juxtapositions of names just cited, similar cases in that story. When Ceyx, for instance, separated from his wife by a hazardous journey by sea, can think only of her, Ovid joins their names in expressing Ceyx's thought and speech: *Alcyone Ceyca mouet, Ceycis in ore | nulla nisi Alcyone est* (*Met.* 11.544–5). In this tale the physical separation of husband and wife is overcome through a variety of metaphorical, verbal and conceptual means until transformation physically reunites the pair: when they are changed into kingfishers, the events of the plot re-enact what the resources of Ovidian style have already achieved.⁷⁷ The happy ending that Ceyx

and Alcyone enjoy in their sudden and miraculous transformation (*Met.* 11.731–48) has, of course, no counterpart in the story of Ovid's exile. He must content himself with rejoining his friends on the verbal and conceptual level, physically reunited only in the proximity of their names. In this regard the greetings of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* resemble the inscription that Alcyone plans to memorialize her husband and herself just before transformation renders it unnecessary. Early in the story she, fearing for her husband's safety, ponders the function of cenotaphs to substitute an inscribed name for a body: *et saepe in tumultis sine corpore nomina legi* (*Met.* 11.429). Near its end, knowing that her husband has died at sea and unable to join him, she proposes to unite his name with hers by inscribing both in stone on just such a cenotaph. Her utterance in describing the purpose of the inscription likewise links them, as she, employing a style consistent with the larger narrative, takes advantage of the symbolic resources of word-order. If the urn within the tomb does not join them, the letters of it shall; 'if I shall not touch your bones with mine, yet I shall touch your name with mine': *et tibi nunc saltem ueniam comes, inque sepulchro | si non urna, tamen iunget nos littera, si non | ossibus ossa meis, at nomen nomine tangam* (*Met.* 11.705–7).

In *Tr.* 3.4 Ovid longs to address his friends by name, but because of their unwillingness and the risk involved, he will address each in his heart: *intra mea pectora quemque | alloquar* (69–70). He reassures them that although he is separated from them by a vast space, they are always present to his mind: *scite tamen, quamuis longa regione remotus | absim, uos animo semper adesse meo* (73–4). On this passage Hardie remarks that 'Ovid substitutes an immediate communication with them that takes place within his own mind, so rendering the act of letter-writing superfluous', making 'the physical dispatch of epistles unnecessary.'⁷⁸ Hardie describes this internal form of communication as an 'illusion' and compares it to madness, but one could rather view it as a form of self-consolation, an effort through imagination to lessen the intensity of the poet's suffering. There is no self-delusion in it, for Ovid insists, both in this poem and everywhere in the exilic poetry, on his misery, and never loses his desire for recall to Rome or at least a milder place of exile,

rejecting, as was noted above, philosophical consolation because it allows no importance to external circumstances. The consolatory expedients of the exilic poetry are always partial and provisional, but in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* they gain a somewhat firmer basis, not least because Ovid at last gratifies his desire to name his friends.⁷⁹ He grants them a nominal presence in his poetry and thereby heightens by some degree its self-consolatory potential, for as their names fill his pages they become present in more than imagination alone. In its consolatory function, Ovid's naming of his friends is of a piece with his imaginative evocations of Rome, as when in 1.8 he calls to mind first his family and friends, then the places of the city, dwelling upon them: *nunc fora, nunc aedes, nunc marmore tecta theatra, | nunc subit aequata porticus omnis humo, | gramina nunc Campi pulchros spectantis in hortos, | stagnaque et euripi Virgineusque liquor* (35–8). This passage is a fantasy in the sense of an imaginative creation, but does not create only a private reality, limited to the poet's consciousness; for because of its presence on the page, it can summon up a vision of the city also in the reader's mind, inviting the reader to extend some sympathy to the poet and share imaginatively in his effort to achieve a measure of consolation.

5 Observations on style

In the *Epistulae ex Ponto* Ovid often returns to a theme of the *Tristia*, the decline of his poetic powers. In the opening lines of 1.5 (1–24), addressed to his friend and fellow-poet Cotta Maximus, he complains that his skill is failing and he can scarcely bring himself to write; he recognizes the roughness of his verse, but his sick mind cannot endure the task of correcting it. To readers who are familiar with his earlier work, however, his powers are likely to seem undiminished, his verse just as skilful. This 'pose of poetic decline'⁸⁰ could also be called a provocative assertion of decline which, because it runs counter to the experience of reading, creates a gap in our understanding, provoking us to consider its significance beyond the literal sense. When Ovid tells us that he struggles to compose fine-spun verse, 'but it becomes as harsh as my fate', *luctor deducere uersum, | sed non fit fato mollior ille meo* (1.5.13–

14), he insists that his poetry represent his fate accurately, that its wretchedness correspond to his wretchedness. Ovid's assertion of decline is symbolic, not a literal description; its notional roughness is appropriate to its function in communicating his misery and degradation to the reader.⁸¹

At the end of the three-book collection he reasserts that his poetry matches his fate, that his muse is all too accurate an index of his woes, *Musa mea est index nimium quoque uera malorum* (3.9.49). Not just the individual poems, but the collection as a whole must represent the poet's fate: though it may appear to readers carefully composed and structured, Ovid's plan, he claims, was not that his letters comprise a volume at all. He simply gathered them and joined them together 'without order', *sine ordine: nec liber ut fieret, sed uti sua cuique daretur | littera, propositum curaue nostra fuit. | postmodo collectas utcumque sine ordine iunxi: | hoc opus electum ne mihi forte putes* (3.9.51–4). Such a characterization of the collection may remind one of Catullus' programmatic claim in Poem 1, not without irony, that his poems are *nugae*. Yet Ovid's ironic disclaimer occurs at the end, not the beginning: it corrects, or rather denies, our experience of reading. Inviting a backward reflection on *Ex P.* 1–3, it engages the reader in granting the collection a notional disorder that reinforces the poet's self-presentation.

In general Ovid's style is consistent with that of his other elegiac writings, especially the *Tristia*.⁸² He often aims at compression, packing, for instance, several relative clauses into a couplet, as when in 1.7 he reminds Messalinus of the duties of high rank: 'entreat the gods that you may give more than you repay': *quod si permittis nobis suadere quid optes, | ut des quam reddas plura precare deos* (63–4).⁸³ Typically no loss of clarity results from this dense stylistic texture, even when hyperbaton (dislocation of word-order) contributes to it, a figure of which Ovid is very fond.⁸⁴ Hyperbaton often functions to unify and round off a couplet, as at 1.6.27–8 *spes igitur menti poenae, Graecine, leuandae | non est ex toto nulla relictæ meae*. The separation of *poenae* and *meae* offers no hindrance to the reader, who is likely to find the placement of *meae* wholly natural; for the end of the pentameter is a customary

sedes for this possessive adjective, as for *suus* and *tuus*. A comparable case is 2.2.3–4 *mittit ab indomitis hanc, Messaline, salutem, | quam solitus praesens est tibi ferre, Getis*. Here a subordinate clause intervenes between the adjective *indomitis* and its noun *Getis*, which serve as an enclosing structure to bind the couplet together. An adjective and noun serve a similar function at 1.8.15–16, where the adjective, placed early in the hexameter, registers on the reader's mind; in the pentameter the corresponding noun, occurring at the end, completes the syntax: *hanc ferus, Odrysiis inopino Marte peremptis, | cepit et in regem sustulit arma Getes*. When an adjective occurs at the very beginning of the couplet, its noun at the very end, a periodic structure of perfect clarity encloses the couplet: *durius est igitur nostrum, fidissima coniunx, | illo, quod subiit Aesone natus, opus* (1.4.45–6).⁸⁵ Ovid sometimes folds one clause within another, giving the couplet a formal symmetry: *ecquid, ut audisti (nam te diuersa tenebat | terra) meos casus, cor tibi triste fuit?* (1.6.1–2) The reader of Ovid's elegiac poetry will note numerous other examples of such enclosing structures, which are both abundant and infinitely varied.⁸⁶

Ovid is in general willing to use 'prosaic' vocabulary, such as *notitia* (1.7.8), when it fits his meaning precisely; but it especially suits the epistolary genre, to which a simple and colloquial style was considered fitting.⁸⁷ In his later style he is less punctilious in regard to repetition of vocabulary in close proximity.⁸⁸ In 1.5, for instance, *satis est* occurs three times within ten lines (56, 59, 65): *satietaem mouet*, remarks Richmond (*ad* 56), but this was evidently not Ovid's view (see 1.5.65–6n.). In metre also the style of the exilic poetry is consistent with that of his earlier elegiacs. He no longer restricts the end of the pentameter to a disyllabic word, but the number of polysyllabic endings is relatively small, in *Ex P.* 1 only 1.1.66 *faciet*, 1.2.68 *patrocinium* and 1.8.40 *liceat*.⁸⁹

6 *Fata libellorum*: remarks on the early reception of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*

Not long after the publication of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* 1–3 in 13 CE, Ovid's friend and correspondent Cornelius Severus imitated lines of *Ex P.* 1.2 in a poem on the death of Cicero (see the headnote to 1.2), and one can assume that Ovid's new collection was soon known to the crowd of poetry-writing *iuvenes* whom he lists in 4.16.39–46. The younger Seneca's admiration for Ovid extends to both the *Tristia* and the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. A passage, for instance, in *De providentia* 1 on those who live beyond the *Romana pax*, including the wandering tribes of the lower Danube, is clearly informed by Ovid's complaints about the harshness of the region: *perpetua illos hiemps, triste caelum premit, maligne solum sterile sustentat; imbrem culmo aut fronde defendunt, super durata glacie stagna persultant, in alimentum feras captant* (*Dial.* 1.14). Seneca's thought also turned to the *Epistulae ex Ponto* when writing on benefits and obligations, both in *De beneficiis* and in *Epistulae morales* 81, which concerns that topic (see 1.7.61–2, 63–4nn.; see also 1.1.61–2n.). Of the epigrams attributed to him, many recall the exilic poetry,⁹⁰ as do those of the *Anthologia Latina*. *Anth.* 415 Riese, for instance, concerning *spes fallax*, draws on Ovid's praise of the goddess Spes in 1.6.27–46, imitating his style and reusing some of his examples.⁹¹

Because it is a multi-book collection of letters arranged by addressee, the *Epistulae ex Ponto* offered the younger Pliny a model for his own collection of letters in prose.⁹² Pliny also alludes to specific passages in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, notably in his first letter, where he disingenuously claims that he ordered his letters randomly, just as they came into his hands, *collegi...ut quaeque in manus uenerat* (*Ep.* 1.1.2). As Syme pointed out, Pliny alludes to a passage in the last poem (3.9) of Ovid's collection, quoted above, in which the poet claims to have arranged his letters without order: *postmodo collectas utcumque sine ordine iunxi* (3.9.53).⁹³ Pliny is also influenced by Ovid's irony, for as Gibson and Morello remark, 'Pliny alludes to Ovid's self-undermining claim to the random ordering of his *Epistulae ex Ponto* in such a way as to convey to the astute reader the message that Pliny's own assertion of the artless disposition of letters is also likely to be entirely misleading.'⁹⁴

Another allusion occurs in Pliny's fifth book.⁹⁵ In *Ex P.* 1.3 Ovid rejects the consolatory arguments offered by Rufinus, comparing his own grief to a fresh wound that may later be healed, but for now shrinks from the touch: *tempore ducetur longo fortasse cicatrix: | horrent admotas uulnera cruda manus* (15–16). The personification of the wound is striking, and Pliny reproduces it in his imitation of this passage: *ut enim crudum adhuc uulnus medentium manus reformidat, deinde patitur atque ultro requirit, sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit ac refugit, mox desiderat et clementer admotis adquiescit* (Plin. 5.6.11).

Ovid often refers to his exile as death throughout the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*,⁹⁶ and he employs the language of sepulchral epigram in writing his own epitaph at *Tr.* 3.3.73–4 *hic ego qui iaceo tenerorum lusor amorum | ingenio perii Naso poeta meo*.⁹⁷ Influence, however, passes not only from actual sepulchral inscriptions to literary epigrams, but in the other direction as well; for as Cugusi documents, Ovid's epitaph in *Tr.* 3 influenced a number of inscribed epitaphs, which have been found both in Italy and, remarkably, in the area of the lower Danube – and in Tomis as well.⁹⁸ Cugusi observes, 'it seems as if in Dacia Ovid's memory was always operating, even on the popular level'; he notes a circle of influence from the epigraphic tradition to Ovid, then back to the epigraphic tradition.⁹⁹ This influence goes well beyond Ovid's epitaph in *Tr.* 3, for as Wheeler notes, 'The elegiac inscriptions collected in the *Carmina Latina Epigraphica* are...shot through with Ovidian reminiscences, illustrating that the elegiac Ovid was widely read and imitated by a literate public'; he goes on to cite Lissberger 1934, who 'observes, in particular, that sepulchral epigrams draw heavily on Ovid's exile-poetry'.¹⁰⁰ One such instance is CE 1361.2 *hic tumultata iacet*, the language of which reflects *Ex P.* 1.6.49 *inque Tomitana iaceam tumultatus harena* (see *ad loc.*).¹⁰¹ This is only the beginning of the story,¹⁰² but may suffice to show that Ovid's books, though they failed to procure his rescue, enjoyed a far better fate than their author. In 1.5 he doubts that they reach Rome at all: *nec reor hinc istuc nostris iter esse libellis* (71); but they outstripped his

expectations, moving freely and making their way among readers near and far.

7 A note on the text

The present text relies on readings reported in the Teubner edition of J. A. Richmond (1990), though the choice of readings sometimes differs from his. The medieval tradition of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*, which is separate from that of the *Tristia*, ‘comprises a single Carolingian codex and a large number of *recentiores*’ of the twelfth century and later.¹⁰³ The Carolingian codex is Hamburg, Staats- und Universitätsbibl. 52 in scrinio (A), written in northern France in the mid ninth century. Of the later manuscripts two stand out, both of the twelfth century: Munich Clm 384, written in Germany (B), and Munich Clm 19476, written at Tegernsee, Germany (C). In my highly selective apparatus and in the commentary, the sigla for these three manuscripts are given. I also use two other abbreviations:

M = the reading of all MSS

m = a reading of part of the MS tradition apart from A, B and C.

The apparatus reports only readings that are discussed in the commentary.

I have standardized orthography, following the sensible remarks of J. C. McKeown: ‘We do not know whether or not Ovid was consistent in such matters, but the authority of mss copied almost, or more than, a millenium after the autography must be very slight.’¹⁰⁴ There seems to be little point in printing *adsiduis* at 1.4.14 but *assiduis* at 1.8.5; in this edition the assimilated forms are used.

¹ For the chronology of composition and publication of both the *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*, see Wheeler–Goold xxxiii–xxxvii. In issuing a three-book collection Ovid follows an Augustan tradition exemplified in Horace's *Odes* and Propertius' elegies as well as

Ovid's later edition of the *Amores*. Horace and Propertius added a fourth book later, as Ovid apparently planned to do.

² See Davisson 1985: 238.

³ See section 4 below, 'Names in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*'. At *Tr.* 4.5.9–16 Ovid claims that he almost let slip the addressee's name and regrets that he cannot so honour him: *ne noceam grato uereor tibi carmine, neue | intempestius nominis obstet honor* (15–16).

⁴ See Froesch 1968. For a chart, adapted from Froesch, illustrating the largely symmetrical arrangement of addressees, see Wheeler–Goold 490.

⁵ See section 5 below, 'Observations on style'.

⁶ At *Ex P.* 1.8.3–4 Ovid tells Severus not to ask how he fares; it is enough to know 'the sum of my woe', *neue roga quid agam. si persequar omnia, flebis; | summa sat est nostri si tibi nota mali*.

⁷ I am indebted to Deborah Shaw for the suggestion that the *Epistulae ex Ponto* are a series of literary portraits.

⁸ Indeed Ovid's standing as a poet was surely his most effective weapon in his efforts to persuade Augustus to relent; see the headnote to 1.5.

⁹ The *Heroides* have a strong allusive presence already in the *Tristia*; see Rosenmeyer 1997.

¹⁰ For Horace's predecessors see Mayer 1994: 2.

¹¹ See Hardie 2002: 297: 'In the first epistle Horace announces to Maecenas his retirement from life as a poet in the city; but what for Ovid will be a removal from Rome through exile and self-division, for Horace is a movement towards philosophical self-possession.'

¹² See Claassen 1999: 19–22 for the tradition of consolatory treatises *de exilio*.

¹³ See Mayer 1994: 39–44: 'Philosophy is not therefore ignored, but its partisan and exclusive claims are much reduced, so as to give the collection a wider appeal than it would have had if its moral horizons were confined to school dogmatics' (42).

¹⁴ Oliensis 2004: 308; see 305–8 for the presence of Horace's *Epistles* in Ovid's *Tristia*.

¹⁵ Horace can always visit his friends, as he proposes to do at *Ep.* 1.7.12–13, or invite one of them to visit him, as he does in *Ep.* 1.5. The separation is hardly dire and is easily overcome both imaginatively by letter and physically by the freedom of movement that both poet and correspondents enjoy.

¹⁶ See Williams 1994: 32–3.

¹⁷ See 1.6.29–30n. for an instance of anaphora, characteristic of hymnic style, in the passage on Hope.

¹⁸ See Kenney 2001: 262–7.

¹⁹ For a similar application of a character in the *Metamorphoses* to his own case, cf. Ovid's comparison of his *error* to Actaeon's in *Tr.* 2.103–10.

²⁰ Hardie 1986: 85; cf. Williams 1994: 191 'the most epic of epic themes'.

²¹ See McKeown on *Am.* 2.1.11–16.

²² For instance, *Ex P.* 2.2.9 *si Pelion Ossa tulisset* recalls *Met.* 1.155 *excussit subiectae Pelion Ossae*.

²³ For the Gigantomachy as political metaphor see Galasso on *Ex P.* 2.2.9–14.

²⁴ *Rhet. Her.* 4.44 *superlatio est oratio superans ueritatem alicuius augendi minuendique causa*.

²⁵ See Hardie 1986: 241: 'Hyperbole is not a trope currently in favour: it offends against modern ideals of verisimilitude and sincerity, for it is taken as the sign of a falseness both objective and subjective, that is, with regard both to the external world and to the psychology of the observer.'

²⁶ Housman, *CP* 350, Hardie 1986: 244.

²⁷ Hardie 1986: 244, 246.

²⁸ See Hardie 1986: 249–52.

²⁹ Even Heinze, who counts sublimity and intensification among Virgil's chief aims, regards this hyperbole as too immoderate: 'When Aeneas and Turnus prepare for the duel, Latinus feels the sublime power of destiny, which has led the two huge men from distant parts of the world to meet in battle (12.709): one can understand his feeling; but to compare Aeneas with Mount Athos, with Mount Eryx,

and finally with the snow-covered Apennines, is asking too much of the imagination' (Heinze 1993: 381–2).

³⁰ For a typical instance, see *Tr.* 2.193–4, addressed to Augustus: *cumque alii causa tibi sint grauiore fugati, | ulterior nulli, quam mihi, terra data est.*

³¹ The identification is common in both *Tristia* and *Epistulae ex Ponto*; see 1.2.125–6, 1.7.45–6nn. Kenney 1992: xvi writes of Ovid in exile, 'his universe was ruled by a god in human shape, who wielded his thunderbolt in quite as cruel and arbitrary a fashion as the Jupiter of myth: the emperor'.

³² *Sat.* 4.6.15 *facit hyperbole, id est nimietas, pathos, per quam exprimitur uel ira uel misericordia.*

³³ See 1.2.23–4n. and Helzle 2003: 77 for a list of examples.

³⁴ See Gaertner 2005: 18. As Little 1990: 32 observes, Ovid sometimes admits that the Danube thaws 'when the air is warm', *dum tamen aura tepet* (*Tr.* 3.10.7); such inconsistencies show that the picture of unbroken winter is an exaggeration.

³⁵ See 1.3.37n., *BA*, maps 22, 23.

³⁶ See Hardie 1986: 242–4 on this function of hyperbole.

³⁷ Cf. *Tr.* 3.10.35–6 *uix equidem credar, sed, cum sint praemia falsi | nulla, ratam debet testis habere fidem*, 4.1.36 [*pericula*] *uera quidem, ueri sed grauiora fide*, *Ex P.* 4.10.36, quoted in the next paragraph.

³⁸ See Little 1990: 32–4 for an able discussion of these passages.

³⁹ The anaphora in *ipse uides*, three times repeated, is highly emphatic; see 1.4.1–3, 1.6.29–30nn. For Vestalis see Syme 1978: 82–3.

⁴⁰ For Graecinus and Flaccus see the headnotes to 1.6 and 1.10.

⁴¹ Fitton Brown 1985; for the earlier bibliography see Claassen 1994: 109.

⁴² E.g. Frank 1928; my discussion is indebted to Helzle 2006.

⁴³ E.g. two classic studies of literary allusion in the works of Alexander Pope, Brower 1959 and Mack 1969. On the topic of Pope's Horatian satires, Mack 1969: 187 writes, 'It was...through an intense engagement of his own personality and situation with the traditional topics and situations of satire that Pope always found his distinctive rhetorical voice.' In his integration of self-representation and literary tradition Pope greatly resembles the Roman poets whom he so much admired.

⁴⁴ See Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.*; for this example and others relevant to Ovid's case, see Helzle 2006: 139.

⁴⁵ See Armayor 1978, refuted by Pritchett 1982: 234–85 and 1993.

⁴⁶ Little 1990; see also Ehlers 1988.

⁴⁷ Fitton Brown 1985: 21.

⁴⁸ Fitton Brown 1985: 18.

⁴⁹ Fitton Brown 1985: 19.

⁵⁰ For Ovid's use of Virgil's description of Scythia in *G.* 3.349–83 and his departures from it, see Williams 1994: 8–12, Helzle 1989: 159–60.

⁵¹ See Helzle 1989: 15 n.55 on Fitton Brown's evidence for higher temperatures in the region of Tomis today: 'Fitton Brown's (1985), 16 temperature chart is just as rhetorically biased as Ovid's account. For which other scholar feels inclined to trust the Rumanian National Tourist Office's 1979 brochure to supply representative data?'

⁵² Fitton Brown 1985: 19.

⁵³ Fitton Brown 1985: 22.

⁵⁴ Even the austere 'pragmatic' style of Polybius, who explicitly aims at usefulness rather than pleasure (see Walbank 1957: 6–16), serves the goal of winning the reader over to the author's view of Rome's constitution.

⁵⁵ Williams 1994: 109, for instance, uses the term 'fictionalize' in criticizing Ovid's hyperbolic syncrisis of his own woes with those of Ulysses in *Tr.* 1.5; see below.

⁵⁶ Williams 1994: 3–4.

⁵⁷ Williams 1994: 29–42.

⁵⁸ Williams 1994: 29.

⁵⁹ Williams 1994: 3. Helzle 2006, discussing the siege of Aegisos in *Ex P.* 4.7, undertakes a stout defence of Ovid's credibility.

⁶⁰ See Helzle 1989: 158–9.

⁶¹ Williams 1994: 41; see 26 for Ovid's 'hyperbolical tone'.

⁶² Hardie 1986: 256.

⁶³ See Hardie 1986: 257.

⁶⁴ See Oliensis 2004: 296 for 'Augustan *ira* (sometimes also known as *clementia*)'.

⁶⁵ Hardie 1986: 257; for an analysis of Virgil's panegyric syncrisis see Norden 1899.

⁶⁶ See Williams 1994: 109–10.

⁶⁷ *Tr.* 3.4.63–8 *uos quoque pectoribus nostris haeretis, amici, | dicere quos cupio nomine quemque suo. | sed timor officium cautus compescit, et ipsos | in nostro poni carmine nolle puto. | ante uolebatis, gratique erat instar honoris, | uersibus in nostris nomina uestra legi.*

⁶⁸ Nagle 1980: 80.

⁶⁹ See Oliensis 1997: 179; see also Hardie 2002: 292–6.

⁷⁰ See Rand 1925: 104 'At least he can now name the friends to whom he writes; it is no longer dangerous for them to be known as his correspondents'; Scholte ad 1.1.17–18 'Ira Augusti decrescente minus minusque periculum erat ne amicis nominatim invocatis obsesset amicitia poetae.'

⁷¹ See Oliensis 2004 for Ovid and Augustus as ‘rivals’, their contest presented in ‘the see-saw rhetoric of an Ovidian game designed for two symmetrically confronted players’.

⁷² For this theme see Tissol 1997: 1–88.

⁷³ Hardie 2002: 294; see Oliensis 1997: 182.

⁷⁴ Hardie 2002: 295.

⁷⁵ See also 4.6.1–2, in which one name ends the hexameter, the other begins the pentameter: *quam legis, ex illis tibi uenit epistula, Brute, | Nasonem nolles in quibus esse locis.*

⁷⁶ The typical formula of prose letters also places the writer's name first in the nominative, e.g. *Cicero Attico salutem*; see 1.1.1–2n.

⁷⁷ See Tissol 1997: 72–84 for a more detailed discussion of the story.

⁷⁸ Hardie 2002: 293.

⁷⁹ See Williams 2002: 238: ‘While the close personal and literary friendships which he shared with the likes of Atticus (*Pont.* 2.4) and Graecinus (*Pont.* 2.6), Pompeius Macer (*Pont.* 2.10) and Tuticanus (*Pont.* 4.12, 14) are sustained by his poetic communications from exile, this contact with Rome merely reinforces his lack of real companionship and cultural opportunity in Tomis. In these and many other ways Ovid is simultaneously present in and absent from both Rome and Tomis.’

⁸⁰ See Williams 1994: 50–99.

⁸¹ See the headnote to 1.5. The notional roughness of Ovid's exilic verse is analogous to the incompleteness of the *Metamorphoses*, asserted in *Tr.* 1.7, but not likely to match the reader's experience; see Tissol 2005: 103.

⁸² Many stylistic features are discussed in the notes; here I mention only a few. See Kenney 2002 on Ovid's language and style, Gaertner 2005: 25–38 for a detailed list of examples in *Ex P.* 1.

⁸³ See *ad loc.* and 61–6n.

⁸⁴ See 1.1.60, 1.5.79nn., Housman, *CP* 139–41, Kenney 2002: 43–4.

⁸⁵ Closely comparable is 1.2.39–40 *sic inconsumptum Tityi semperque renascens | non perit, ut possit saepe perire, iecur*. For a similar example in prose, cf. Apul. *Met.* 4.31.7 *talis ad Oceanum pergentem Venerem comitatur exercitus*.

⁸⁶ A glance at the first two elegies discloses other examples of enclosing structures: 1.1.45–6 *en ego...fero*, 1.2.15–16 *qui...linunt*, 67–8 *suscipe...patrocinium*, 81–2 *maxima pars...timet*, etc.

⁸⁷ See Mayer 1994: 16–17, Kenney 2002: 36–7 (for *notitia* 36n.57), Gaertner 2005: 25–7.

⁸⁸ See Benedum 1967, Kenney 1996: 24.

⁸⁹ 1.8.20, ending *populi*, is a scribal stopgap; see *ad loc.* For polysyllabic endings of the pentameter, see Platnauer 1951: 17, Benedum 1967, Kenney 1996: 21–3, Gaertner 2005: 38.

⁹⁰ See Degl’Innocenti Perini 1990: 129, 160–6; Wheeler 2004–5: 22–3.

⁹¹ See Canali 1994: 96. The anaphora of *Anth.* 415.5–8 reflects that of *Ex P.* 1.6.29–34; the examples of the shipwrecked sailor, prisoner and crucified man, all still full of hope (19–24), come from 1.6.33–4, 37–8.

⁹² For the importance of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* to Pliny, see Marchesi 2008: 20–4, Gibson and Morello 2012: 260–3.

⁹³ Syme 1985: 176.

⁹⁴ Gibson and Morello 2012: 43.

⁹⁵ See Helzle ad 1.3.15–16.

⁹⁶ See 1.9.55–6n. for the theme, also Helzle 1989: 13–14; for a list of passages see his n.41.

⁹⁷ Ovid also draws on a tradition among his predecessors in elegy, for Tibullus (1.3.55–6), Lygdamus (3.2.29–30) and Propertius (2.13.35–6) had written their own epitaphs.

⁹⁸ See Cugusi 2007: 45–6.

⁹⁹ Cugusi 2007: 46 ‘pare quasi che in Dacia fosse sempre operante la memoria ovidiana, anche a livello popolare’. See also McGowan 2009: 166: 94.

¹⁰⁰ Wheeler 2004–5: 22; see Lissberger 1934: 14–17, 156.

¹⁰¹ Ovid's language at 1.2.143 *nos quoque praeteritos sine labe peregrimus annos* may have influenced cE 1133.5 *cum quo triginta uixi sine labe per annos*, as Helzle *ad loc.* observes.

¹⁰² For a valuable overview of the early reception of Ovidian elegy, see Wheeler 2004–5.

¹⁰³ Tarrant 1983: 263. For the textual tradition of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* see Tarrant 1983: 262–5, the preface to Richmond's Teubner edition (v–xxx) and Richmond 2002: 480–2.

¹⁰⁴ McKeown 1987–: I 127.

P. Ovidi Nasonis Epistularum ex Ponto liber primus

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I

- *Naso Tomitanae iam non nouus incola terrae
hoc tibi de Getico litore mittit opus.
- *si uacat, hospitio peregrinos, Brute, libellos
excipe, dumque aliquo, quolibet abde loco.
- *publica non audent intra monimenta uenire, 5
ne suus hoc illis clausurit auctor iter.
- *a quotiens dixi 'certe nil turpe docetis;
ite: patet castis uersibus ille locus.'
non tamen accedunt, sed, ut aspicias ipse, *latere
sub lare priuato tutius esse putant. 10
- *quaeris ubi hos possis nullo componere laeso?
qua steterant Artes, pars uacat illa tibi.
- *quid †ueniat, nouitate roges fortasse sub ipsa:
accipe quodcumque est, dummodo non sit amor.
- *inuenies, quamuis non est miserabilis index, 15
non minus hoc illo triste, quod ante dedi.
rebus idem, titulo differt, et *epistula cui sit
non occultato nomine missa docet.
- *nec uos hoc uultis, sed nec prohibere potestis,
Musaque ad inuitos officiosa uenit. 20
- *quidquid id est, adiunge meis: nihil impedit ortos
exule seruatis legibus Vrbe frui.
- *quod metuas non est: Antoni scripta leguntur,
doctus et in promptu scrinia Brutus habet.
- nec me nominibus *furiosus confero tantis: 25
saeua deos contra non tamen arma tuli.
denique Caesareo, *quod non desiderat ipse,
non caret e nostris ullus honore liber.

si dubitas *de me, laudes admitte deorum,
et carmen dempto nomine sume meum. 30
*adiuuat *in bello pacatae ramus oliuae:
proderit auctorem pacis habere nihil?
cum *foret Aeneae ceruix subiecta parenti,
dicitur ipsa uiro flamma dedisse uiam:
fert liber *Aeneaden, et non iter omne patebit? 35
at patriae pater hic, ipsius ille fuit.

*ecquis *ita est audax, ut limine cogat abire
iactantem Pharia tinnula sinistra manu?
ante *deum matrem cornu tibicen adunco
cum canit, exiguae quis stipis aera negat? 40
scimus *ab imperio fieri nil tale †Dianae:
unde tamen uiuat uaticinator habet.
*ipsa mouent animos superiorum numina nostros,
turpe nec est tali credulitate capi:
*en ego pro sistro Phrygiiue foramine buxi 45
*gentis luleae nomina sancta fero.
*uaticinor moneoque: 'locum date sacra ferenti:
non mihi, sed magno poscitur ille deo.'
*nec, *quia uel merui uel sensi principis iram,
a nobis ipsum nolle putate coli. 50
*uidi ego linigerae numen uiolasse fatentem
Isidis Isiacos ante sedere focos.
*alter ob huic similem priuatus lumine culpam
clamabat media se meruisse uia.
taliam caelestes fieri *praeconia gaudent, 55
ut, sua quid ualeant numina, teste probent.
saepe leuant poenas *ereptaque lumina reddunt,
cum bene peccati paenituisse uident.

*paenitet, o si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
paenitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo. 60
*cumque sit exilium, magis est mihi culpa dolori,
estque pati poenam, quam meruisse, minus.
*ut mihi di faueant, quibus est manifestior ipse,

poena potest demi, culpa perennis erit.
 *mors faciet certe, ne sim, cum uenerit, exul: 65
 ut non peccarim, mors quoque non faciet.
 *non *igitur mirum, si mens mea tabida facta
 de niue manantis more liquescit aquae.
 *estur ut occulta uitiata teredine naus,
 aequorei scopulos ut cauat unda salis, 70
 roditur ut scabra *positum rubigine ferrum,
 conditus ut tineae carpitur ore liber,
 sic mea *perpetuos curarum pectora morsus,
 fine quibus nullo conficiantur, habent.
 nec prius hi mentem *stimuli, quam uita relinquet, 75
 quique dolet citius quam dolor ipse cadet.
 *hoc mihi si superi, quorum sumus omnia, credent,
 forsitan exigua dignus habebor ope,
 *inque locum Scythico uacuum mutabor ab arcu;
 plus isto, duri, si precer, oris ero. 80

II

*Maxime, qui tanti mensuram nominis imples
 et geminas animi nobilitate genus,
 *qui nasci ut posses, quamuis cecidere trecenti,
 non omnes Fabios abstulit una dies,
 *forsitan, *haec a quo mittatur epistula, quaeras, 5
 quisque loquar tecum, certior esse uelis.
 *ei mihi, quid faciam? uereor, ne nomine lecto
 durus et auersa cetera mente legas.
 †uideris: *audebo tibi me scripsisse fateri
 † 10
 qui, *cum me poena dignum grauiore fuisse
 confitear, possum uix grauiora pati.
 *hostibus *in mediis interque pericula uersor,
 (tamquam cum patria pax sit adempta mihi),
 *qui, mortis saeuo geminent ut uulnere causas, 15
 omnia uipereo spicula felle linunt.
 his *eques instructus perterrita moenia lustrat

more lupi clausas circumeuntis oues,
 *et semel intentus neruo leuis arcus equino
 uincla semper habens irresoluta manet. 20
 *tectata rigent fixis ueluti †uallata sagittis,
 portaque uix firma summouet arma sera.
 *adde loci faciem nec fronde nec arbore †laeti,
 et quod iners hiemi continuatur hiems.
 hic *me pugnans cum frigore cumque sagittis 25
 cumque meo fato quarta fatigat hiems.
 *fine carent lacrimae, nisi cum stupor obstitit illis,
 et similis morti pectora torpor habet.
 *felicem *Nioben, quamuis tot funera uidit,
 quae posuit sensum saxea facta mali. 30
 uos quoque felices, *quarum clamantia fratrem
 cortice uelauit populus ora nouo.
 *ille ego sum, lignum qui non admittor in ullum;
 ille ego sum, frustra qui lapis esse uelim.
 *ipsa Medusa oculis ueniat licet obuia nostris, 35
 amittet uires ipsa Medusa suas.
 *uiuimus ut numquam sensu careamus amaro,
 et grauior longa fit mea poena mora.
 *sic inconsumptum Tityi semperque renascens
 non perit, ut possit saepe perire, iecur. 40
 *at *puto cum requies medicinaque publica curae
 somnus adest, solitis nox uenit orba malis:
 somnia me terrent *ueros imitantia casus,
 et uigilant sensus in mea damna mei.
 aut ego *Sarmaticas uideor uitare sagittas, 45
 aut dare captiuas ad fera uincla manus,
 aut, ubi decipior *melioris imagine somni,
 aspicio patriae tecta relictata meae;
 et modo uobiscum, *quos sum ueneratus, amici,
 et modo cum cara coniuge multa loquor. 50
 sic, ubi *percepta est breuis et non uera uoluptas,
 peior ab admonitu fit status ipse boni.
 siue *dies igitur caput hoc miserabile cernit,

siue pruinosi Noctis aguntur equi,
 *sic mea perpetuis liquefiunt pectora curis, 55
 ignibus admotis ut noua cera solet.

*saepe *precor mortem, mortem quoque deprecor idem,
 ne mea Sarmaticum contegat ossa solum.
 cum *subit, Augusti quae sit clementia, credo
 mollia naufragiis litora posse dari; 60
 *cum uideo quam sint mea fata tenacia, frangor,
 spesque leuis magno uicta timore cadit;
 *nec tamen ulterius quicquam speroue precorue,
 quam male mutato posse carere loco.
 *aut hoc aut nihil est, pro me temptare modeste 65
 gratia quod saluo uestra pudore queat.

*suspice, *Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae,
 difficilis causae mite patrocinium.
 est mala, *confiteor, sed te bona fiet agente:
 lenia pro misera fac modo uerba fuga. 70
 nescit enim Caesar, *quamuis deus omnia norit,
 ultimus hic qua sit condicione locus.
 *magna tenent illud numen molimina rerum,
 haec est caelesti pectore cura minor,
 nec uacat, in qua sint positi regione *Tomitae, 75
 quaerere, finitimo uix loca nota Getae,
 aut quid *Sauromatae faciant, quid lazyges acres
 cultaque Oresteae Taurica terra deae,
 *quaeque aliae gentes, ubi frigore constitit Hister,
 dura meant celeri terga per amnis equo. 80
 *maxima pars hominum nec te, pulcherrima, curat,
 Roma, nec Ausonii militis arma timet.
 dant illis animos arcus pleneque pharetrae
 *quamque libet longis cursibus aptus equus,
 *quodque sitim didicere diu tolerare famemque, 85
 quodque sequens nullas hostis habebit aquas.
 *ira uiri mitis non me misisset in istam,
 si satis haec illi nota fuisset humus.

nec me nec quemquam Romanum gaudet ab hoste
 (*meque minus, uitam cui dedit ipse) capi. 90
 noluit, ut poterat, *minimo me perdere nutu:
 nil opus est ullis in mea fata Getis.
 sed *neque, cur morerer, quicquam mihi comperit actum,
 et minus infestus, quam fuit, esse potest.
 *tum quoque nil fecit, nisi quod facere ipse coegi: 95
 paene etiam merito parcior ira meo est.
 *di faciant igitur, quorum iustissimus ipse est,
 alma nihil maius Caesare terra ferat,
 utque diu *sub eo, sic sit sub Caesare semper,
 perque manus huius tradita gentis eat. 100
 *at tu tam placido, quam nos quoque sensimus illum,
 iudice pro lacrimis ora resolve meis.
 *non petito bene sit, sed uti male tutius, utque
 exilium saeuo distet ab hoste meum,
 quamque dedere mihi *praesentia numina uitam, 105
 non adimat stricto squalidus ense Getes;
 *denique, si moriar, subeam pacatius aruum,
 ossa nec a Scythica nostra premantur humo,
 nec *male compositos, ut scilicet exule dignum,
 Bistonii cineres ungula pulset equi, 110
 et ne, *si superest aliquid post funera sensus,
 terreat et manes Sarmatis umbra meos.
 Caesaris haec animum *poterant audita mouere,
 Maxime, mouissent si tamen ante tuum.
 uox, precor, *Augustas pro me tua molliat aures, 115
 auxilio trepidis quae solet esse reis,
 adsuetaque *tibi doctae dulcedine linguae
 aequandi superis pectora flecte uiri.
 non *tibi Theromedon crudusque rogabitur Atreus,
 quique suis homines pabula fecit equis, 120
 *sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia uelox,
 quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox;
 *qui uicit semper, uictis ut parcere posset,
 clausit et aeterna ciuica bella sera,
 multa metu *poenae, poena qui pauca coercet, 125

et iacit inuita fulmina rara manu.
 ergo tam *placidas orator missus ad aures,
 ut propior patriae sit fuga nostra, roga.
 *ille ego sum, qui te colui, quem festa solebat
 inter conuiuas mensa uidere tuos, 130
 ille ego, qui *dixi uestros Hymenaeon ad ignes,
 et cecini fausto carmina digna toro,
 cuius te solitum memini laudare libellos
 *exceptis domino qui nocuere suo,
 *cui tua nonnumquam miranti scripta legebas, 135
 ille ego, de uestra cui data nupta domo est.
 *hanc probat et primo dilectam semper ab aeuo
 est inter comites Marcia censa suas,
 inque suis habuit *matertera Caesaris ante,
 quarum iudicio siqua probata, proba est. 140
 *ipsa sua melior fama laudantibus istis
 Claudia diuina non eguisset ope.
 *nos quoque praeteritos sine labe peregrimus annos:
 proxima pars uitae transilienda meae.
 sed, *de me ut sileam, coniunx mea sarcina uestra est: 145
 non potes hanc salua dissimulare fide.
 confugit haec ad *uos, uestras amplectitur aras
 (iure uenit cultos ad sibi quisque deos),
 flensque rogat, precibus *lenito Caesare uestris
 busta sui fiant ut propiora uiri. 150

III

*Hanc tibi Naso tuus mittit, Rufine, salutem,
 qui miser est ulli si suus esse potest.
 *reddita confusae nuper solacia menti
 auxilium nostris spemque tulere malis;
 *utque Machaoniis Poeantius artibus heros 5
 lenito medicam uulnere sensit opem,
 *sic ego mente iacens et acerbo saucius ictu
 admonitu coepi fortior esse tuo,
 et *iam deficiens sic ad tua uerba reuixi,

ut solet infuso uena redire mero. 10

non tamen *exhibuit tantas facundia uires,
ut mea sint dictis pectora sana tuis.

*ut multum demas nostrae de gurgite curae,
non minus exhausto quod superabit erit.

*tempore ducetur longo fortasse cicatrix: 15
horrent admotas uulnera cruda manus.

*non est in medico semper, releuetur ut aeger:
interdum docta plus ualet arte malum.

*cernis ut e molli sanguis pulmone remissus
ad Stygias certo limite ducat aquas; 20

afferat ipse *licet sacras Epidaurius herbas,
sanabit nulla uulnera cordis ope;

tollere *nodosam nescit medicina podagram,
nec formidatis auxiliatur aquis:

*cura quoque interdum nulla medicabilis arte est, 25
aut, ut sit, longa est extenuanda mora.

*cum bene firmarunt animum praecepta iacentem,
sumptaque sunt nobis pectoris arma tui,

rursus *amor patriae ratione ualentior omni,
quod tua fecerunt scripta, retexit opus. 30

*siue pium uis hoc seu uis muliebre uocari,
confiteor misero molle cor esse mihi.

non dubia est Ithaci *prudentia, sed tamen optat
fumum de patriis posse uidere focis.

*nescioqua natale solum dulcedine cunctos 35
ducit et immemores non sinit esse sui.

*quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore peius?
huc tamen ex ista barbarus urbe fugit.

*cum *bene sit clausae cauea Pandione natae,
nititur in siluas illa redire suas. 40

*adsuetos tauri saltus, adsueta leones
(nec feritas illos impedit) antra petunt.

tu tamen exilii *morsus et pectora nostro
fomentis speras cedere posse tuis:

*effice uos ipsi ne tam mihi sitis amandi, 45

talibus ut leuius sit caruisse malum.

*at *puto qua genitus fueram, tellure carenti
in tamen humano contigit esse loco:

*orbis in extremi iaceo desertus harenis,
fert ubi perpetuas obruta terra niues. 50

*non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas,
non salices ripa, robora monte, uirent.

*neue fretum laudes terra magis, aequora semper
uentorum rabie solibus orba tument.

*quocumque aspicias, campi cultore carentes 55
uastaque, quae nemo uindicat, arua iacent.

*hostis adest dextra laeuaque a parte timendus
uicinoque metu terret utrumque latus:

altera *Bistonias pars est sensura sarisas,
altera Sarmatica spicula missa manu. 60

*i *nunc et ueterum nobis exempla uirorum,
qui forti casum mente tulere, refer,

*et *graue magnanimi robur mirare Rutili
non usi reditus condicione dati:

*Smyrna uirum tenuit, non Pontus et hostica tellus, 65
paene minus nullo Smyrna petenda loco.

*non doluit patria Cynicus procul esse Sinopeus,
legit enim sedes, Attica terra, tuas.

*arma Neoclides qui Persica contudit armis
Argolica primam sensit in urbe fugam. 70

pulsus *Aristides patria Lacedaemona fugit,
inter quas dubium, quae prior esset, erat.

*caede puer facta Patroclus Opunta reliquit,
Thessalicamque adiit hospes Achillis humum.

*exul ab Haemonia Pirenida cessit ad undam, 75
quo duce trabs Colcha sacra cucurrit aqua.

*liquit Agenorides Sidonia moenia Cadmus,
poneret ut muros in meliore loco.

uenit ad Adrastum *Tydeus Calydone fugatus,
et Teucrum Veneri grata recepit humus. 80

*quid referam ueteres Romanae gentis, apud quos
exulibus tellus ultima Tibur erat?

*persequar ut cunctos, nulli datus omnibus aeuis
 tam procul a patria est horridiorue locus.

*quo *magis ignoscat sapientia uestra dolenti, 85
 quod facit ex dictis non ita multa tuis.
 nec tamen infitior, si possint nostra *coire
 uulnera, praeceptis posse coire tuis:
 sed uereor ne me frustra seruare labores,
 *nec †iuuor admota perditus aeger ope. 90
 *nec loquor haec, quia sit maior prudentia nobis;
 sed sum quam medico notior ipse mihi.
 *ut tamen hoc ita sit, munus tua grande uoluntas
 ad me peruenit, consuliturque boni.

IV

*Iam *mihi deterior canis aspergitur aetas,
 iamque meos uultus ruga senilis arat,
 iam *uigor et quasso languent in corpore uires,
 nec iuueni lusus qui placuere iuuant,
 nec, si me *subito uideas, agnoscere possis: 5
 aetatis facta est tanta ruina meae.
 confiteor facere hoc annos, sed et altera causa est,
 *anxietas animi continuusque labor.
 *nam mea per longos si quis mala digerat annos,
 crede mihi, Pylio Nestore maior ero. 10
 *cernis *ut in duris (et quid boue firmitus?) aruis
 fortia taurorum corpora frangat opus.
 *quae numquam uacuo solita est cessare nouali,
 fructibus assiduis lassa senescit humus.
 *occidet, ad circi siquis certamina semper 15
 non intermissis cursibus ibit equus.
 *firma sit illa licet, soluetur in aequore nauis,
 quae numquam liquidis sicca carebit aquis.
 *me quoque debilitat series immensa malorum,
 ante meum tempus cogit et esse senem. 20
 *otia corpus alunt, animus quoque pascitur illis;

immodicus contra carpit utrumque labor.

- *aspice, *in has partes quod uenerit Aesone natus,
quam laudem a sera posteritate ferat.
at *labor illius nostro leuiorque minorque est, 25
si modo non uerum nomina magna premunt.
ille est in Pontum *Pelia mittente profectus,
qui uix Thessaliae fine timendus erat:
*Caesaris ira mihi nocuit, quem solis ab ortu
solis ad occasus utraque terra tremit. 30
*iunctior Haemonia est Ponto, quam Roma, Sinistro
et breuius, quam nos, ille peregit iter.
*ille habuit comites primos telluris Achiuae,
at nostram cuncti destituere fugam.
nos *fragili ligno uastum sulcauimus aequor, 35
quae tulit †Aesoniden, densa carina fuit.
nec mihi *Tiphys erat rector, nec Agenore natus
quas fugerem docuit quas sequereturque uias.
illum *tutata est cum Pallade regia Iuno:
defendere meum numina nulla caput. 40
illum *furtivae iuuere Cupidinis artes,
quas a me uellem non didicisset Amor.
*ille domum rediit: nos his moriemur in aruis,
perstiterit laesi si grauis ira dei.
- *durius *est igitur nostrum, fidissima coniunx, 45
illo, quod subiit Aesone natus, †opus.
*te quoque, quam iuuenem discedens Vrbe reliqui,
credibile est nostris insenuisse malis.
*o ego di faciant talem te cernere possim,
caraque mutatis oscula ferre comis, 50
*amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis,
et 'gracile hoc fecit' dicere 'cura mei',
et *narrare meos flenti flens ipse labores,
sperato numquam *colloquioque frui,
*turaque Caesaribus cum coniuge Caesare digna, 55
dis ueris, memori debita ferre manu.

Memnonis* hanc utinam lenito principe mater
quam primum roseo prouocet ore diem.

V

- *Ille tuos quondam non ultimus inter amicos,
ut sua uerba legas, Maxime, Naso rogat.
- *in quibus ingenium desiste requirere nostrum,
nescius exilii ne uideare mei.
- *cernis ut ignauum corrumpant otia corpus, 5
ut capiant uitium, ni moueantur, aquae.
et mihi *siquis erat ducendi carminis usus,
deficit estque minor factus inerte situ.
haec quoque, quae *legitis (si quid mihi, Maxime, credis),
scribimus inuita uixque coacta manu. 10
non libet *in tales animum contendere curas,
nec uenit ad duros Musa uocata Getas.
ut tamen ipse uides, luctor *deducere uersum,
sed non fit fato mollior ille meo.
cum relego, scripsisse pudet, quia plurima cerno 15
*me quoque, qui feci, iudice digna lini.
*nec tamen emendo; labor hic quam scribere maior,
mensque pati durum sustinet aegra nihil.
*scilicet incipiam lima mordacius uti,
et sub iudicium singula uerba uocem? 20
*torquet enim Fortuna parum, nisi Lixus in Hebrum
confluat et frondes Alpibus addat Atho?
parcendum est *animo miserabile uulnus habenti:
subducunt oneri colla perusta boues.
- *at *puto fructus adest, iustissima causa laborum, 25
et sata cum multo fenore reddit ager:
*tempus ad hoc nobis, repetas licet omnia, nullum
profuit (atque utinam non nocuisset) opus.
*cur igitur scribam, miraris? miror et ipse,
et tecum quaero saepe, quid inde petam. 30
*an populus uere sanos negat esse poetas,

sumque fides huius maxima uocis ego,
 *qui, sterili totiens cum sim deceptus ab aruo,
 damnosa persto condere semen humo?
 *scilicet est cupidus studiorum quisque suorum, 35
 tempus et adsueta ponere in arte iuuat.
 saucius *eiurat pugnam gladiator, et idem
 immemor antiqui uulneris arma capit;
 *nil sibi cum pelagi dicit fore naufragus undis,
 et ducit remos qua modo nauit aqua. 40
 *sic ego constanter studium non utile seruo,
 et repeto, nollem quas coluisse, deas.
 *quid *potius faciam? non sum, qui segnia ducam
 otia: mors nobis tempus habetur iners.
 nec iuuat *in lucem nimio marcescere uino, 45
 nec tenet incertas alea blanda manus.
 cum *dedimus somno, quas corpus postulat, horas,
 quo ponam uigilans tempora longa modo?
 *moris an oblitus patrii contendere discam
 Sarmaticos arcus, et trahar arte loci? 50
 hoc quoque me studium prohibent adsumere *uires,
 mensque magis gracili corpore nostra ualet.
 *cum bene quaesieris, quid agam, magis utile nil est
 artibus his, quae nil utilitatis habent.
 *consequor ex illis casus obliuia nostri: 55
 hanc messem satis est si mea reddit humus.

 *gloria *uos acuat; uos, ut recitata probentur
 carmina, Pieriis inuigilate choris.
 quod uenit *ex facili, satis est componere nobis,
 et nimis intenti causa laboris abest. 60
 cur ego *sollicita poliam mea carmina cura?
 an uerear, ne non approbet illa Getes?
 *forsitan audacter faciam, sed gloriior Histrum
 ingenio nullum maius habere meo.
 *hoc, ubi uiuendum est, satis est si consequor aruo 65
 inter inhumanos esse poeta Getas.
 *quo mihi diuersum fama contendere in orbem?

quem Fortuna dedit, Roma sit ille locus.
 hoc mea contenta est infelix Musa *theatro:
 sic merui, magni sic uoluere dei. 70
 *nec *reor hinc istuc nostris iter esse libellis,
 quo Boreas pinna deficiente uenit.
 *diuidimur caelo, quaeque est procul urbe Quirini,
 aspicit hirsutos comminus Vrsa Getas.
 *per tantum terrae, tot aquas, uix credere possum 75
 indicium studii transiluisse mei.
 *finge legi, quodque est mirabile, finge placere:
 auctorem certe res iuuat ista nihil.
 *quid *tibi, si calida, prosit, laudare Syene,
 aut ubi Taprobanen Indica †tingit aqua? 80
 *altius †ire libet? si te distantia longe
 Pleiadum laudent signa, quid inde feras?
 *sed neque peruenio scriptis mediocribus istuc,
 famaue cum domino fugit ab Vrbe suo;
 *uosque, quibus perii, tum cum mea fama sepulta est, 85
 nunc quoque de nostra morte tacere reor.

VI

*Ecquid, ut audisti (nam te diuersa tenebat
 terra) meos casus, cor tibi triste fuit?
 *dissimules metuasque licet, Graecine, fateri,
 si bene te noui, triste fuisse liquet.
 non *cadit in mores feritas inamabilis istos, 5
 nec minus a studiis dissidet illa tuis:
 *artibus ingenuis, quarum tibi maxima cura est,
 pectora mollescent asperitasque fugit.
 nec quisquam *meliore fide complectitur illas,
 qua sinit officium militiaeque labor. 10
 *certe ego, cum primum potui sentire, quid essem,
 (nam fuit attoniti mens mea nulla diu),
 *hoc quoque fortunam sensi, quod amicus abesses,
 qui mihi praesidium grande futurus eras.
 tecum tunc aberant *aegrae solacia mentis 15

magnaue pars animi consiliiue mei.

*at nunc, quod superest, fer opem, precor, eminus unam,
alloquioque iuua pectora nostra tuo,

*quae, *non mendaci si quicquam credis amico,
stulta magis dici quam scelerata decet. 20

*nec breue nec tutum, peccati quae sit origo,
scribere: tractari uulnera nostra timent.

*qualia quoque modo mihi sint ea facta, rogare
desine; non agites siqua coire uelis.

*quidquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa uocanda est: 25
omnis an in magnos culpa deos scelus est?

*spes *igitur menti poenae, Graecine, leuandae
non est ex toto nulla relictæ meae.

*haec dea, cum fugerent sceleratas numina terras,
in dis inuisa sola remansit humo. 30

*haec facit ut uiuat fossor quoque compede uinctus,
liberaue a ferro crura futura putet.

*haec facit ut, uideat cum terras undique nullas,
naufragus in mediis brachia iactet aquis.

*saepe aliquem sollers medicorum cura reliquit, 35
nec spes huic uena deficiente cadit.

*carcere dicuntur clausi sperare salutem,
atque aliquis pendens in cruce uota facit.

*haec dea quam multos laqueo sua colla ligantes
non est proposita passa perire nece! 40

*me quoque conantem gladio finire dolorem
arguit, iniecta continuitque manu,

*‘quid’que ‘facis? lacrimis opus est, non sanguine’ dixit;
‘saepe per has flecti principis ira solet.’

*quamuis est igitur meritis indebita nostris, 45
magna tamen spes est in bonitate dei.

*qui *ne difficilis mihi sit, Graecine, precare,
confer et in uotum tu quoque uerba meum.

*inque Tomitana iaceam tumultatus harena,
si te non nobis ista uouere liquet. 50

*nam *prius incipient turres uitare columbae,
antra ferae, pecudes gramina, mergus aquas,

*quam male se praestet ueteri Graecinus amico;
non ita sunt fatis omnia uersa meis.

VII

*Littera *pro uerbis tibi, Messaline, salutem,
quam legis, a saeuis attulit usque Getis.
*indicat auctorem locus; an nisi nomine lecto
haec me Nasonem scribere uerba latet?
ecquis *in extremo positus iacet orbe tuorum 5
me tamen excepto, qui precor esse tuus?
*di procul a cunctis, qui te uenerantur amantque
huius notitiam gentis habere uelint.
*nos satis est inter glaciem Scythicasque sagittas
uiuere, si uita est mortis habenda genus; 10
nos *premat aut bello tellus aut frigore caelum,
truxque Getes armis, grandine pugnet hiems;
nos habeat *regio nec pomo feta nec uuis,
et cuius nullum cesset ab hoste latus:
cetera sit sospes *cultorum turba tuorum, 15
in quibus, ut populo, pars ego parua fui.

*me *miserum, si tu uerbis offenderis istis,
nosque negas ulla parte fuisse tuos.
idque sit *ut uerum, mentito ignoscere debes:
nil demit laudi gloria nostra tuae. 20
quis se *Caesaribus notus non fingit amicum?
da ueniam fasso: tu mihi Caesar eras.
nec tamen irrumpo *quo non licet ire, satisque est,
atria si nobis non patuisse negas.
*utque tibi fuerit mecum nihil amplius, uno 25
nempe salutaris, quam prius, ore minus.
*nec tuus est genitor nos infitatus amicos,
hortator studii causaque faxque mei,
cui nos et *lacrimas, supremum in funere munus,
et dedimus medio scripta canenda foro. 30
*adde quod est frater tanto tibi iunctus amore,

quantus in Atridis Tyndaridisque fuit:
 is nec me comitem nec *dedignatus amicum est,
 si tamen haec illi non nocitura putas;
 *si minus, hac quoque me mendacem parte fatebor: 35
 clausa mihi potius tota sit ista domus.
 *sed neque claudenda est, et nulla potentia uires
 praestandi, ne quid peccet amicus, habet.

*et *tamen, ut cuperem culpam quoque posse negari,
 sic facinus nemo nescit abesse mihi. 40
 *quod nisi delicti pars excusabilis esset,
 parua relegari poena futura fuit.
 ipse sed *hoc uidit, qui peruidet omnia, Caesar:
 stultitiam dici crimina posse mea.
 *quaque ego permisi, quaque est res passa, pepercit, 45
 usus et est modice fulminis igne sui.
 *nec uitam nec opes nec ademit posse reuerti,
 si sua per uestras uicta sit ira preces.
 *at *grauiter cecidi: quid enim mirabile, si quis
 a loue percussus non leue uulnus habet? 50
 *ipse suas etiam uires inhiheret Achilles,
 missa grauis ictus Pelias hasta dabat.

*iudicium *nobis igitur cum uindicis adsit,
 non est cur tua me ianua nosse neget†.
 *cult a quidem, fateor, citra quam debuit, illa est, 55
 sed fuit in fatis hoc quoque, credo, meis;
 nec tamen *officium sensit domus altera nostrum:
 hic illic uestro sub Lare semper eram;
 *quaeque tua est pietas, ut te non excolat ipsum,
 ius aliquod tecum fratris amicus habet. 60
 quid quod, ut emeritis referenda est gratia semper,
 sic est fortunae promeruisse tuae?
 *quod si permittis nobis suadere quid optes,
 ut des, quam reddas, plura, precare deos.
 *idque facis, quantumque licet meminisse, solebas 65
 †officii causa pluribus esse dari†.†

*quolibet in numero me, Messaline, repone,
sim modo pars uestrae non aliena domus,
et mala Nasonem, quoniam meruisse uidetur,
si non ferre doles, at meruisse dole. 70

VIII

*A *tibi dilecto missam Nasone salutem
accipe, pars animae magna, Seuere, meae.
*neue roga, quid agam; si persequar omnia, flebis;
summa, †sat est, nostri si tibi nota mali.
*uiuimus assiduus expertes pacis in armis 5
dura pharetrato bella mouente †Geta.
*deque tot expulsis sum miles in exule solus:
tuta (neque inuideo) cetera turba latet.
*quoque magis nostros uenia dignere libellos
haec in procinctu carmina facta leges. 10
*stat *uetus urbs, ripae uicina binominis Histri,
moenibus et positu uix adeunda loci.
*Caspian †Aegisos, de se si credimus ipsis,
condidit et proprio nomine dixit opus.
*hanc ferus Odrysiis inopino Marte peremptis 15
cepit et in regem sustulit arma Getes.
ille *memor magni generis, uirtute quod auget,
protinus innumero milite cinctus adest.
nec prius abscessit, *merita quam caede nocentum
..... † 20
at *tibi, rex aeuo, detur, fortissime nostro,
semper honorata sceptrum tenere manu;
*teque, quod et praestat (quid enim tibi plenius optem?),
Martia cum magno Caesare Roma probet.

*sed *memor unde abii, queror, o iucunde sodalis, 25
†accedant nostris saeua quod arma malis.
*ut careo uobis Stygias detrusus in oras,
quattuor autumnos Pleias orta facit.
*nec tu credideris urbanae commoda uitae

quaerere Nasonem (quaerit et illa tamen). 30
nam *modo uos animo dulces reminiscor amici,
nunc mihi cum cara coniuge nata subit,
aque domo rursus pulchrae loca uertor ad Urbis,
cunctaque mens oculis peruidet illa suis:
*nunc fora, nunc aedes, nunc marmore tecta theatra, 35
nunc subit aequata porticus omnis humo,
gramina nunc Campi pulchros spectantis in hortos
stagnaque et euripi Virgineusque liquor.

*at *puto sic Urbis misero est erepta uoluptas
quolibet ut saltem rure frui liceat: 40
non meus *amissos animus desiderat agros
ruraque Paeligno conspicienda solo,
nec quos piniferis positos in collibus hortos
spectat Flaminiae Clodia iuncta uiae,
*quos ego nesciocui colui, quibus ipse solebam 45
ad sata fontanas (nec pudet) addere aquas,
sunt ubi, si uiuunt, nostra quoque consita quaedam
sed non et nostra poma legenda manu,
*pro quibus amissis utinam contingere possit
hic saltem profugo glaeba colenda mihi. 50
*ipse ego pendentes, liceat modo, rupe capellas,
ipse uelim baculo pascere nixus oues.
ipse ego, *ne solitis insistant pectora curis,
ducam ruricolae sub iuga curua boues,
et discam Getici quae norunt uerba iuueni, 55
adsuetas illis adiciamque minas.
*ipse manu capulum pressi moderatus aratri
experiar mota spargere semen humo;
nec dubitem longis purgare *ligonibus herbas,
et dare iam sitiens quas bibat hortus aquas. 60

*unde *sed hoc nobis, minimum quos inter et hostem
discrimen murus clausaque porta facit?
at tibi nascenti, *quod toto pectore laetor,
nerunt fatales fortia fila deae.

- *te modo Campus habet, densa modo porticus umbra, 65
nunc, in quo ponis tempora rara, forum.
*Vmbria nunc reuocat, nec non Albana petentem
Appia feruenti ducit in arua rota.
*forsitan hic optes, ut iustam supprimat iram
Caesar, et hospitium sit tua uilla meum. 70
*a, nimium est, quod, amice, petis: moderatius opta,
et uoti, quaeso, contrahe uela tui.
*terra uelim propior nullique obnoxia bello
detur: erit nostris pars bona dempta malis.

IX

- *Quae *mihi de rapto tua uenit epistula Celso
protinus est lacrimis umida facta meis,
*quodque nefas dictu, fieri nec posse putauit,
inuitis oculis littera lecta tua est.
nec quicquam *ad nostras peruenit acerbis aures, 5
ut sumus in Ponto, perueniatque precor.
*ante *meos oculos tamquam praesentis imago
haeret, et extinctum uiuere fingit amor.
*saepe refert animus lusus grauitate carentes,
seria cum liquida saepe peracta fide. 10
nulla tamen *subeunt mihi tempora densius illis,
quae uellem uitae summa fuisse meae,
cum domus ingenti subito mea lapsa ruina
concidit in domini procubuitque caput.
*adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit, 15
Maxime, Fortunae nec fuit ipse comes.
*illum ego non aliter flentem mea funera uidi,
ponendus quam si frater in igne foret.
*haesit in amplexu, consolatusque iacentem est,
cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas. 20
*o *quotiens uitae custos inuisus amarae
continuit promptas in mea fata manus.
o quotiens dixit 'placabilis ira deorum est:
uiue nec ignosci tu tibi posse nega.'

*uox tamen illa fuit †celeberrima: ‘respice quantum 25
 debeat auxilium Maximus esse tibi.
 Maximus *incumbet, quaque est pietate rogabit,
 ne sit ad extremum Caesaris ira tenax,
 cumque suis fratris uires adhibebit, et omnem
 quo leuius doleas, experietur opem.’ 30
 haec mihi uerba *malae minuerunt taedia uitae;
 quae tu ne fuerint, Maxime, uana caue.
 *huc quoque uenturum mihi se iurare †solebat
 non nisi te longae ius sibi dante uiae.
 *nam tua non alio coluit penetralia ritu, 35
 terrarum dominos quam colis ipse deos.
 *crede mihi, multos habeas cum dignus amicos,
 non fuit e multis quolibet ille minor,
 *si modo non census nec clarum nomen auorum
 sed probitas magnos ingeniumque facit. 40
 *iure *igitur lacrimas Celso libamus adempto,
 cum fugerem, uiuo quas dedit ille mihi,
 carmina iure damus raros testantia mores,
 ut tua uenturi nomina, Celse, legant.
 *hoc est, quod possum Geticis tibi mittere ab aruis; 45
 hoc solum est istic quod licet esse †mei.
 *funera non potui comitare nec unguere corpus,
 aque tuis toto diuidor orbe rogis.
 *qui potuit, quem tu pro numine uiuus habebas,
 praestitit officium Maximus omne tibi. 50
 ille tibi *exequias et magni funus honoris
 fecit, et in gelidos †uersit amoma sinus,
 diluit et lacrimis maerens unguenta profusis
 ossaue uicina condita textit humo.
 *qui, quoniam extinctis, quae debet, praestet amicis, 55
 et nos extinctis annumerare potest.

X

*Naso *suo profugus mittit tibi, Flacce, salutem,
 mittere rem si quis, qua caret ipse, potest.

*longus enim curis uitiatum corpus amaris
 non patitur uires languor habere suas.
 *nec dolor ullus adest, nec febribus uror anhelis, 5
 et peragit soliti uena tenoris iter.
 *os hebes est, positaeque mouent fastidia mensae,
 et queror, inuisi cum uenit hora cibi.
 quod mare, quod tellus, *appone quod educat aer:
 nil ibi, quod nobis esuriatur, erit. 10
 *nectar et ambrosiam, latices epulasque deorum,
 det mihi formosa naua luuenta manu,
 non tamen exacuet torpens sapor ille palatum,
 stabit et in stomacho pondus inerte diu.

 *haec *ego non ausim, cum sint uerissima, cuiuis 15
 scribere, delicias ne mala nostra uocet.
 *scilicet is status est, ea rerum forma mearum,
 deliciis etiam possit ut esse locus.
 *delicias illi precor has contingere, si quis
 ne mihi sit leuior Caesaris ira timet. 20
 *is *quoque, qui gracili cibus est in corpore, somnus
 non alit officio corpus inane suo,
 sed uigilo uigilantque mei sine fine dolores,
 quorum materiam dat locus ipse mihi.
 *uix igitur possis uisos agnoscere uultus, 25
 quoque ierit quaeras qui fuit ante color.
 paruus in *exiles sucus mihi peruenit artus,
 membraque sunt cera pallidiora noua.

 *non *haec immodico contraxi damna Lyaeo:
 scis mihi quam solae paene bibantur aquae. 30
 non *epulis oneror: quarum si tangar amore,
 est tamen in Geticis copia nulla locis.
 nec *uires adimit Veneris damnosa uoluptas:
 non solet in maestos illa uenire toros.
 *unda locusque nocent et, causa ualentior istis, 35
 anxietas animi, quae mihi semper adest.
 *haec *nisi tu pariter simili cum fratre leuares,

uix mens tristitiae nostra tulisset onus.
 *uos estis fracto tellus non dura phaselo, 40
 quamque negant multi, uos mihi fertis opem.
 *ferte, precor, semper, quia semper egebimus illa,
 Caesaris offensum dum mihi numen erit.
 *qui meritam nobis minuat, non finiat, iram,
 suppliciter uestros quisque rogate deos.

13 ueniat *m*: ueniant *ABC*

41 Dian(a)e *ABC*: deorum *m*

9 uideris *m*: uiderit *ABC*

10 *om.* *AC*: audebo propriis ingemuisse malis *B*: atque modum
 penae notificare meae *m*

21 uallata *BCm*: uelata *A*

23 laeti *m*: tecti *ABC*

90 iuuor *Richmond*: iuuer *Bm*

36 aesoniden densa *Excerpta Scaligeri*: aesoni densa *A*:
 aesoniden sacra *C* (*p. c.*): hesoniden sacra *B* (*sacra in ras.*)

46 opus *ABC*: onus *m*

80 tingit *m*: pingit *ABC*: cingit *m*

81 altius *M*: latius *Kenney, S. J. Harrison*

54 neget *m*: negat *ABC*

66 dari *AB*: dati *m*: dator *SchenkI*

4 sat est *Bentley*: satis *M*

6 Geta *AB²m*: Gete *BC*

13 Caspius *B* (*p. c.*) *m*: Caspios *AB* (*a. c.*)

20 *om.* *A*: audaces animos contuderit populi *BC*: se nimis
 ulciscens extitit ipse nocens *m*

26 accedant *ACm*: accedunt *B*

25 celeberrima *ABCm*: creberrima *m*

33 solebat *m*: uolebat *ACm*

46 mei *Némethy*: meum *M*

52 uersit *Heinsius*: uertit *ABCm*: fudit *m*

Commentary

Epistulae ex Ponto 1.1

Ovid opens and closes the three-book collection with a letter to Brutus, to whom *Ex P.* 4.6 is also addressed; little is known of him (see Syme 1978: 80). Because O. appears to entrust the collection to him (see 3.9.51–6), he may have served as the poet's literary agent in Rome. To be sure, O. addresses not only Brutus but readers of the whole collection, to which this elegy serves as an introduction. In a sense, the *Epistulae ex Ponto* are a continuation of the *Tristia: rebus idem, titulo differt* (17), we are told; yet this collection of letters also recalls O.'s earlier collection of *Epistulae Heroidum*. Like his abandoned heroines of legend, O. earnestly importunes his addressees. He does not conceal their names as in the *Tristia*; now he calls attention to their unwillingness to be named (19–20), despite the embarrassment or even danger that may attach to association with the exiled and disgraced poet.

The elegy falls into three parts. In the first (1–36), the poet begs acceptance in Rome for his poetry-book. In the second (37–58), he presents begging priests of Isis, the Magna Mater and Diana as images of his own lot, continuing to plead for acceptance of the collection while making a transition to the third part (59–80), in which he expresses deep regret for his *culpa* and hopes for mitigation of his exile by a change of place.

(1–36) In *Tr.* 1.1 O. addresses his book, sending it off without him to Rome, and in *Tr.* 3.1 his book speaks directly to us with an account of its attempts to find safe lodging there. Now in *Ex P.* 1.1 O. personifies his *peregrini libelli* (3) and takes up, so to speak, where *Tr.* 3.1 leaves off. That poem ends as the book arrives at Rome's first public library, the *Atrium Libertatis*, fails to gain admission, and expresses a hope of finding a *priuatus locus* (*Tr.* 3.1.80) in which to hide; then the book entreats the hands of the common people to take up the poems contained in it. In *Ex P.* 1.1 O.'s *libelli* appear to have learned from the experience of their brother in *Tr.* 3.1: from the start they do not dare to approach *publica monimenta* (5). They

immediately seek a *lar priuatus* (10) in which to find a safer hiding place. They pursue this cautious approach despite the naively optimistic urgings of their author, who insists that their innocence must make them welcome in public libraries (7–8). O. cuts a humorously pathetic figure in his initial self-presentation, vainly urging on his timid progeny. Ovidian wit and irony are evident throughout the opening of this elegy, especially in 31–6, lines claiming that the book must meet with a favourable reception in Rome because it ‘bears’ Augustus. Here O. sports with panegyric language, playing simultaneously on the literal and figurative senses of its terms: just as Aeneas shoulders his father Anchises and bears him through the flames of Troy, so O.’s book bears Aeneas’ descendant, Augustus.

(37–58) Although O., of equestrian rank, could have had a senatorial career (*Tr.* 4.10.7–8, 35; *Ex P.* 4.8.17–18; Syme 1978: 113), in this passage he compares himself to the begging priests and wandering prophets of the street. Such people as a rule met with scant respect. In Cicero’s *De divinatione* 1.132, his brother Quintus, though presented as the defender of divination and prophecy, yet goes out of his way to distance himself from the ‘neighbourhood soothsayers’ (*uicani haruspices*), ‘fortune-tellers of Isis’ (*Isiaci coniectores*) and other quacks, who bring divination into disrepute. O.’s aim in identifying himself with begging priests is partly to dramatize the degradation of exile, partly to assume the mantle of inspired bard, who deserves reverence even in wretched circumstances. Just as one normally grants such a priest his small donation, so ought one to accept O.’s book – for he himself is a prophet (47 *uaticinor*). Continuing the analogy, he points out that a priest, if blinded by the gods for an offence against them, can regain his sight if repentant; thereby O. effects a transition to his own remorse and repentance.

(59–80) O. concludes the elegy with a plea for mitigation of his exile, arguing that his repentance justifies it. Awareness of his *culpa* is more painful than exile itself (61). As he expands upon the intensity of his remorse, he describes its wasting effect in a set of grisly comparisons (67–76). One of these, ‘as a book, when stored

away, is gnawed by the bookworm's mouth' (72), recalls a recurrent theme of the *Tristia*, the identity of author and book. He ends with hope that the 'gods' may consent to offer him a less dangerous place of exile.

1–2 In its form and language, O. models his opening couplet on the openings of several *Epistulae Heroidum* (*Her.* 1.1 *haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Vlix*) and epistolary poems of the *Tristia*, especially *Tr.* 5.1 *hunc quoque de Getico, nostri studiose, libellum | litore praemissis quattuor adde meis*; cf. *Mart.* 3.1.1–2 *hoc tibi quidquid id est longinquis mittit ab oris | Gallia Romanae nomine dicta togae*. **Naso**: to begin the first *epistula ex Ponto* with the writer's name in the nominative reflects the style of actual letters (e.g. *Cicero Attico salutem*) and announces the epistolary nature of the new work. Only here does a Latin or Greek poet begin a book or collection of poetry with his own name as the first word. *Naso* also begins 1.10, the last poem of the book, and 3.6. O. also names himself at the beginning of the *Amores*; cf. the epigram prefixed to that work (1–2): *Qui modo Nasonis fueramus quinque libelli, | tres sumus; hoc illi praetulit auctor opus*. He uses his name as a signature to conclude the second and third books of the *Ars amatoria* (2.744, 3.812). He names himself more frequently than any other ancient poet, fifty-two times in all (McKeown on *Epigr.* 1–2), always using forms of *Naso*. In Augustan verse the final long o of third-declension proper names in the nominative could be shortened, as *Naso* always is by O.; cf. *Tr.* 4.10.3 *Sulmo mihi patria est*. Catullus maintains the long quantity, 112.1–2 *multus homo es Naso, neque tecum multus homo est qui | descendit: Naso, multus es et pathicus*.

Tomitanae: adjective derived from the name of the town Tomis, whose inhabitants are *Tomitae* (1.2.75); first attested here. The juxtaposition of *Naso* and *Tomitanae* is pointed, cruelly emphasizing O.'s long residency in Tomis. **non nouus incola** 'by no means a new inhabitant'. Litotes of this type is frequent in O.'s work, e.g. *Her.* 16.18 *non leue numen*, 'a most powerful divinity'. In the next elegy we learn that O. is enduring his fourth winter at Tomis, 1.2.25–26 *hic me pugnantem cum frigore cumque sagittis | cumque meo fato quarta fatigat hiems*. **Getico**: adjective derived from *Geta*; cf. *Tr.* 5.1.1–2 *de Getico...litore*. The Getae were a Thracian people who

lived on the lower Danube in the vicinity of Tomis. O. characterizes them at *Tr.* 5.3.8 as *crudi*, later in the *Ex P.* as *hirsuti* (1.5.74), *duri* (3.2.102), *feri* (3.9.32), *intonsi* (4.2.2), *saeui* (4.8.84). A second geographic adjective, coming so soon after *Tomitanae*, grimly emphasizes O.'s place of exile; cf. *Tr.* 3.2.1–2, 5.10.1–2 for similar accumulations. **hoc...opus** refers to the three-book collection of *Epistulae ex Ponto* (see Introduction 1–2); cf. *hoc...opus* of O.'s five-book and three-book *Amores* (*Epigr.* 2, quoted above).

3–4 *si uacat* 'if you have leisure'. The impersonal use is very common (*OLD uaco* 5b); cf. 3.3.1. **hospitio...Brute...excipe**: O. appeals to Brutus (see headnote) as host and personifies his books as foreigners in need of lodging and protection at Rome. Cf. *Her.* 16.129 *excipit hospitio uir me tuus*; *F.* 5.391. **peregrinos** 'from abroad'; but O. is using the word also in its more specific legal sense: 'foreigners without the rights of Roman citizenship'; the term usually is used of foreigners resident in or visiting Rome. Here O. looks forward to his personification of his books as *ortos exule* (21–2), 'children of an exile'. Properly a *relegatus* retaining civic rights and property, O. often represents himself as an *exul* lacking civic rights and reduced to the legal status of *peregrinus* (see below on 21–2). His books, personified as an exile's children, are also *peregrini*, and as such are without legal protection in Rome unless they procure the patronage or *hospitium priuatum* (cf. 10 *sub lare priuato*) of a Roman citizen. Cicero writes of a foreign refugee who had come to Rome to spend his exile and 'who had a legal right to remain there provided that he had attached himself to someone as if to a patron', *qui Romam in exilium uenisset, cui Romae exulare ius esset, si se ad aliquem quasi patronum applicuisset* (*De orat.* 1.177). See *RE hospitium* VIII 2493–8 (R. Leonhard). **libellos**: diminutive of *liber*, a papyrus roll: 'books', 'books of poetry' (*Tr.* 2.1 *infelix cura, libelli*), or more specifically 'the several books of a completed work', as here (Owen on *Tr.* 2.1). **dumque...loco** 'and hide them away in any place you want as long as it's some place'. With *dum* a present subjunctive verb, e.g. *abdas*, is to be assumed from the context; for *dum* in this provisional sense, see *NLS* §220; *dummodo* line 14 below. Omission of *in* with the local ablative is poetical; *NLS* §51(iv).

5–6 publica...monimenta: i.e. public libraries, as opposed to the *lar priuatus* (10) in which O.'s books will seek a safer refuge; cf. *Tr.* 3.1.79–80 *quoniam statio mihi publica clausa est, | priuato liceat delituisse loco*. The present passage recalls the longer section near the end of *Tr.* 3.1 in which O.'s book narrates its unsuccessful attempts to gain admission to the public libraries of Rome, i.e. those of Apollo Palatinus (dedicated 28 BCE), of the Porticus Octaviae (23 BCE) and of the Atrium Libertatis (after 39 BCE). **publica**: the writings of ancients and moderns 'lie open to be inspected by those who would read' in the Bibliotheca Apollinis Palatini: *quaeque uiri docto ueteres cepere nouique | pectore, lecturis inspicienda patent* (*Tr.* 3.1.63–4). On the nature and extent of public access to libraries, see Dix 1994. **monumentum** or *monimentum*, derived from *monere*, refers to anything that recalls the memory of a person or thing, or that 'admonishes the mind'; see Maltby 1991 s.v. It often refers to buildings, as at Hor. *Carm.* 1.2.15–16 *ire deiectum monimenta regis | templaue Vestae*. The reference of *monimentum* at A. A. 3.391 *quaeque soror coniunxque ducis monimenta pararunt* includes a library, that of the Porticus Octaviae. **ne...clauserit**: a clause of fearing need not depend directly on a governing verb or expression; in such cases 'the clause of fearing, introduced by *ne*, modifies the whole sentence adverbially, and depends on a general idea of anxiety inherent in the context' (NLS §189); cf. 1.10.16n. *non audere* establishes such a context also at Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.46 *uerbum facere non audebant, ne forte ea res ad Dolabellam ipsum pertineret*, 'They did not dare to say a word, in case the matter touched Dolabella himself.' **auctor** 'author' (OLD 13c), as at 1.5.78, *Tr.* 1.9.60, but also in a legal sense 'protector', as of an orphan (TLL 1195.31–83); hence the term is tinged with irony, for O. is helpless to offer his books any protection (see Gaertner *ad loc.*).

7–8 a quotiens: for this exclamation, both single and repeated, see McKeown on *Am.* 2.19.11–12. **certe nil turpe docetis**: i.e. you books could not possibly be excluded from public libraries on the same grounds as the *Ars amatoria*. O. ruefully admits not that the *Ars amatoria* is *turpis* but that Augustus and O.'s detractors continue to think it so, despite the defences against this charge that O. has

mounted. In *Tr.* 2, having identified *duo crimina* that ruined him, *carmen et error* (207), O. declines to discuss the latter and turns to the former in these terms: *altera pars superest, qua turpi carmine factus | arguor obsceni doctor adulterii* (211–12). O.'s expression *nil turpe docetis* recalls *turpi* and *doctor* in this couplet; also *Tr.* 1.1.112 *amare docent*. Cf. *Tr.* 2.515–16 *scribere si fas est imitantes turpia mimos, | materiae minor est debita poena meae*. **ille locus**: i.e. a public library.

9–10 *latere...tutius*: the infinitive, treated as an indeclinable neuter noun agreeing with *tutius*, here functions as the accusative subject of indirect statement; cf. 2.2.57–8 *quod...non contrectari tutius esse puto*, K–S || 664–6. As in the case of *nil turpe docetis* (7), O.'s language recalls his address to his book in the opening elegy of the *Tristia*. There the three books of the *Ars amatoria* were lying hidden in O.'s own library, ashamed to display their titles after having destroyed their parent, the author: *tres procul obscura latitantes parte uidebis; | sic quoque, quod nemo nescit, amare docent* (*Tr.* 1.1.111–12). Here the three books of *Epistulae ex Ponto*, though blameless, appear unnerved by the fate of their older brothers in *Tr.* 1.1 and, as if aware of another brother's rejection from public libraries in *Tr.* 3.1, they follow his plan of action: *Tr.* 3.1.80 *priuato liceat delituisse loco*. **sub lare priuato** 'in a private home'; see above on *peregrinos* (3). *Lar* and *lares*, like *penates*, are often used by metonymy for *domus*, retaining an idea of protection appropriate to tutelary deities; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.29.14 *paruo sub lare*.

11–12 *quaeris*: O. often introduces an indirect question with *quaeris?* (and *quaeritis?*) in this way, giving a sense of dialogic give and take to a passage by anticipating a question from the addressee or interlocutor; cf. *F.* 4.937–8 and Fantham *ad loc.*; also *F.* 3.765, 5.1, 5.526, 6.283. In all instances, *quaeris* and *quaeritis* lack interrogative particles, and an answer immediately follows; see K–S || 501–2. The usage is especially suited to letters: that of O.'s Medea (*Her.* 12.199 *dos ubi sit, quaeris?*), and those of O. himself, wherein he imagines and answers his addressee's questions, as in *Ex P.* 3.1.33, 3.5(6).1, 4.12.43, 4.13.23; Sen. *Ep.* 41.8 *quaeris, quid sit?*; A. Pope, *Epilogue to the Satires* 2.197–8 'Ask you what Provocation I

have had? | The strong Antipathy of Good to Bad.’ **nullo...laeso** ‘without injuring anyone’, i.e. without injuring other books by displacing them. The temporal aspect of the perfect participle is, as often, contemporaneous, not past (Kenney on *Lucr.* 3.171 and *Her.* 16.42); cf. 22 *seruatis legibus*. **componere** ‘to store away’, like foodstuffs, for future use; cf. *abde* above (4) and Prop. 1.9.14 *tristis istos compone libellos*. **qua steterant Artes** ‘where the books of the *Ars amatoria* used to stand’, i.e. prior to their removal. The substitution of pluperfect for imperfect is an idiom, probably colloquial in origin, that is common in Propertius and O.; cf. *Epigr. Amor.* 1–2 *qui modo Nasonis fuere quinque libelli | tres sumus*, *Tr.* 3.11.25 *non sum ego quod fuere*, Fordyce on Catul. 64.158, Butler and Barber on Prop. 1.8.35–6, Platnauer 1951: 112–14. For *Artes* in the plural see 3.3.70 *Artibus et nullum crimen inesse tuis*. Whereas O.’s works were removed from public libraries at the behest of Augustus, O. here refers to Brutus’ removal of the *Ars amatoria* from his private library. One may surmise that Brutus’ act follows not Augustus’ condemnation of the *Ars* (for alleged immorality), but O.’s (for having ruined its author); or perhaps he had not removed it, but it was politic to assume publicly that he had. **pars uacat illa tibi**: cf. Mart. 1.3.1–2 *Argiletanas mauis habitare tabernas | cum tibi, parue liber, scrinia nostra uacent*.

13–14 *quid ueniat* ‘what is arriving’ or ‘why it (i.e. the *opus* of line 2) is arriving’; on the latter interpretation, *quid* = *cur* (see NLS §241), as at *Tr.* 3.7.6 *quid uenias...requiret*; Plaut. *Amph.* 377 *loquere: quid uenisti?* For *ueniat* most MSS read *ueniant*, retaining *libelli* as subject and rendering awkward the subsequent shift to neuter singular pronouns. **nouitate...sub ipsa** ‘by reason of its very strangeness’ (OLD *sub* A.14); for the word-order, see K–S I 587. For *nouitas* cf. 4.13.24 on O.’s verse panegyric of Augustus in the Getic language: *adiuta est nouitas numine nostra dei*, ‘my novel effort was assisted by the god’s power’; also *F.* 3.435; *Met.* 2.31, 4.284, 7.758, 12.175. In line 14 O. returns to his plea for acceptance of the collection with an imperative and *dum(modus)* clause recalling line 4; he contrasts the new collection first with the *Ars amatoria*, then with the *Tristia* (15–18). **quodcumque est** ‘such as it is’, ‘for what it’s worth’ (OLD 7b); cf. 21n. **dummodo non sit amor**: cf. *Tr.* 3.1.4

*nullus in hac charta uersus amare docet; dummodo non for
dummodo ne* (K–S || 447); cf. *Ex P.* 3.7(8).39 *dummodo non nobis
hoc Caesaris ira negarit.*

15–16 ‘Although its title does not indicate pitiable topics, you will find this work not less sad than the one I sent before’, i.e. than the *Tristia*; *non minus...triste* is predicative. **quamuis**: after Lucretius (3.403, 705, 4.426), Latin poets commonly use *quamuis* with the indicative; classical prose requires the subjunctive (*NLS* §246). O. usually uses the indicative, sometimes the subjunctive (3.7(8).5–6; *Tr.* 4.10.111). On the relative frequency of *quamquam* and *quamuis* (the latter much the more common in O.), see Axelson 1945: 123–4 and n.16. **index**: the title of a work, often identified with the parchment *titulus* (see below on 17), on which the names of author and work are written (*TLL index* ||.c.1.a). **dedi** ‘sent’, lit. ‘gave’ to a *tabellarius*; a term proper to epistolary contexts (*OLD* 10).

17–18 Among the novelties of the *Epistulae ex Ponto* is that they are all letters and that nearly every letter, ‘without concealing the name, tells to whom it has been sent’. These programmatic lines call to mind several passages in the *Tristia*, especially *Tr.* 3.4.63–72, wherein O. maintains that he wants to name his friends, but *cautus timor* checks that duty; he supposes that they are unwilling to have a place in his poetry: *sed timor officium cautus compescit, et ipsos | in nostro poni carmine nolle puto* (*Tr.* 3.4.65–6); cf. *Tr.* 1.5.7–8; 4.4.7–8; 4.5.9–10; 5.9.1–2, 25–6, 31–2. O. now considers it safe, or safe enough, to name them; yet *Ex P.* 3.6(7) is addressed to a friend who asks not to be named on grounds of safety (5–6). 3.7(8) also bears no name (at 4.3.3–4 O. refuses to name a hostile addressee in order to deny him fame; 4.16, addressed to an enemy, lacks a name; similarly the *Ibis*). **rebus idem, titulo differt** ‘the same in subject-matter, it differs in title’. In a similarly sweeping statement, Pomponius Porphyrio, the third-century commentator on Horace, remarks that Horace’s books of *Epistulae* differ from those of *Sermones* only in title (ad *Ep.* 1.1): *Flacci epistularum libri titulo tantum dissimiles a sermonum sunt. nam et metrum et materia uerborum et communis adsumptio eadem est.* **rebus**: cf. Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.24–5 *numeros animosque secutus | Archilochi, non res*; 28–9

Archilochi Musam pede...temperat Alcaeus, sed rebus et ordine dispar. **titulo** ‘title-label’, the tag of parchment ‘which was glued to the outside of the roll [*uolumen*] and hung down as it lay on the shelf or projected if the roll was stored upright in a box’ or *scrinium* (Kenney 1982: 16). A *titulus* provides readers with their first information about what a rolled-up *uolumen* may contain (conversely, at 4.13.7–8 O. boasts that he could identify Carus as author of a work by its contents, even if the *titulus* were missing). **non occultato nomine** ‘by not concealing the name’; contrast *Tr.* 1.5.7 and 4.4.7 *positis pro nomine signis*. In the passage of *Tr.* 3.4 on not naming his friends (see above on 17–18), O. remarks *occulte, siquis amabit, amet* (72). The ablative absolute is instrumental and the participle contemporaneous in temporal reference (11n.). **missa** belongs to the indirect question (17) *epistula cui sit...missa*; a metrically convenient hyperbaton.

19–20 *nec uos hoc uultis: hoc = nomina uestra nominari* (Scholte); see above on 17–18. Shifting to plural *uos*, O. addresses 19–20 to all addressees of the three-book collection, to which this epistle to Brutus serves as an introduction. For a similarly temporary shift to plural, cf. 3.6(7).45–6 *ipse ego quod primo scripsi sine nomine uobis, | uix excusari posse mihi uideor.* **sed nec prohibere potestis**: *sed nec* ‘nor however’ = *nec tamen*, a rare usage; cf. 1.2.93; Mart. 2.36.1 *flectere te nolim, sed nec turbare capillos*; 6.75.4 *has [sc. buccellas] ego non mittam, Pontia, sed nec edam*; August. C. D. 18.37 *sed nec sapientia Aegyptiorum sapientiam prophetarum nostrorum tempore antecellere potuit, quando quidem et Abraham propheta fuit*. O. now takes a more forthright tone with his addressees than he did with those of the *Tristia*. Cf. 4.1.3–5 *qui seu non prohibes a me tua nomina poni...siue trahis uultus*, ‘if you do not prevent me from setting down your name...or if you disapprove of being named’. In that poem, even when humbly appealing to Sextus Pompeius, relative of Augustus, friend of Germanicus, and consul of 14 CE, he gives Pompeius the option of refusing to be named only after already naming him (1 *Pompei*). Yet he takes care not to offend the friend unnamed in 3.6(7).57: *teque tegam, qui sis, nisi cum permiseris ipse.* **nec...que**: uncommon outside O.; cf. *Her.* 19.119–20 and Kenney *ad loc.*; *Tr.* 4.1.65; *Met.* 2.231, 3.524–5,

9.435-6; *OLD neque* 8a; K-S || 48. In context and vocabulary line 20 recalls *Tr.* 5.9.25-6, wherein O.'s Muse, though bidden to remain quiet, can scarcely restrain herself from naming the unwilling addressee: *nunc quoque se, quamuis est iussa quiescere, quin te | nominet inuitum, uix mea Musa tenet*; cf. also 31-2. Now she throws off her former restraint. **Musa** by metonymy for poetry, yet not merely that; the Muse remains a divine agent, willing to make demands on O.'s friends as well as on him; cf. 1.5.12, 69 *Musa*; *Tr.* 1.7.21 *Musas*; *Tr.* 4.10.56, 5.9.31 *Thalia*; *Ex P.* 1.5.42 *deas*; *Tr.* 2.13 *sorores*; *Ex P.* 2.5.63 *Pieridum*. **officiosa uenit** 'comes dutifully'; the predicative status of the adjective is best represented by translating it adverbially (G-L 325.6); cf. 3.6(7).56 on O.'s willingness to conceal his friend's name: *non ultra, quam uis, officiosus ero*. In O.'s pentameters the word always occurs in this metrical *sedes*: 4.2.6; *Tr.* 4.7.4; *Her.* 10.114; [Ov.] *Nux* 122.

21-2 *quidquid id est* 'such as it is', resuming and varying 14 *quodcumque est*. Cf. 1.6.25 *quidquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa uocanda est*. For *quidquid id est* as a modestly depreciatory formula intended to commend a book, cf. Mart. 3.1.1 (cit. 1n.). **adiunge meis** i.e. *operibus*; cf. *Tr.* 5.1-2 *hunc quoque...libellum...praemissis quattuor adde meis*. **nihil impedit...Urbe frui** 'nothing prevents an exile's children from enjoying the city without injury to the laws'. For *impedire* with acc. + infinitive see Lucr. 3.322 *ut nil [sc. nos] impediat dignam dis degere uitam*; K-S | 688; the usual construction is with *ne*, *quominus* or *quin*. **ortos | exule** 'children of an exile'; see above on 3 *peregrinos*. 'While denying that he is an "exul" in the strict sense, Ovid does often speak of himself as "exul", and of his banishment as "exilium", but in such passages he uses the words in a loose and popular sense in order to excite compassion for his miserable condition' (Owen 1924: 44); O. already so describes himself only three lines into the first poem of the *Tristia*. Even if one had received the harsher penalty of *exilium*, one's children were not required to remain in exile; cf. *Tr.* 3.14.11-12 *saepe per extremas profugus pater exulat oras, | urbe tamen natis exulis esse licet*. O.'s expression here invites recollection of the context of *Tr.* 3.14, wherein books and children are similarly compared. **seruatis legibus** 'without injury to the laws': their presence in Rome does not

constitute an offence or outrage to the laws (wrongly Keene, Wheeler–Goold, ‘if they observe the law’).

23–4 From these lines Brutus and O.’s other audiences are invited to infer that there is no danger in private possession of books that Augustus has banned from public libraries; for the writings even of his bitterest enemies are available and are read, unsuppressed by Augustus. The best commentary on this couplet is the speech of A. Cremutius Cordus in Tac. *Ann.* 4.34: charged under Tiberius with the ‘unheard-of crime’ of praising Brutus and Cassius in a historical work, Cordus defends himself by pointing out that Antony’s letters and Brutus’ orations contain abusive attacks on Augustus, ‘false to be sure, but with much bitterness’: *Antonii epistulae, Bruti contiones falsa quidem in Augustum probra, sed multa cum acerbitate habent*; yet Augustus endured them and let them be, *haud facile dixerim, moderatione an sapientia* (*Ann.* 4.34.8). **quod metuas non est**

‘there’s nothing for you to fear’, consecutive-generic subjunctive (K–S II 278–9); cf. *Her.* 19.159 *quod timeas non est*. **Antoni scripta**: Mark Antony’s letters, including those abusive of Octavian, remained extant to be quoted by Suetonius (*Aug.* 69) and referred to by Tacitus (*Ann.* 4.34.8, cited above). It is interesting to note that shortly after Antony’s death, Octavian gathered his friends and read them letters of Antony’s in order to show the man’s coarseness and arrogance (Plut. *Ant.* 78.3); presumably he did not suppress them later. On these and Antony’s other writings, see Huzar [1982](#).

doctus...Brutus: M. Iunius Brutus, assassin of Augustus’ adoptive father, deserves his epithet *doctus* for his learning in rhetoric, as Cicero’s *Brutus* attests, and especially in philosophy. An adherent of Platonism as revived by Antiochus of Ascalon, Brutus wrote several treatises on ethics, most notably *De uirtute*, which remained available during Augustus’ principate and increased in reputation during the first century, so that Quintilian (10.1.123) and Tacitus (*Dial.* 21.5) rate the ethical treatises higher than Brutus’ orations. Consistent with his Antiochean Platonism was his resistance to tyranny and assertion of *libertas* against political domination. On Brutus’ philosophical affiliation and Platonic advocacy of tyrannicide, see Sedley [1997](#). **in promptu scrinia...habet** ‘has bookboxes

readily available'; i.e. his books are within easy reach of readers. Cf. *OLD promptus*² 1b.

25–6 *nec me...furiosus confero* 'yet I do not senselessly compare myself'; *nec* is adversative, as often (*OLD neque* 5). The adjective *furiosus* takes the place of an adverbial expression and implies 'I would be mad, were I to do so'. **conferō**: for the prosody cf. *Her.* 18.203 *desinō* and Kenney *ad loc.*; Platnauer 1951: 52.

nominibus i.e. men of so great a name (*OLD* 17a); cf. 1.4.26 *si modo non uerum nomina magna premunt*; Owen on *Tr.* 2.442.

saeua deos contra non tamen arma tuli: Cicero ironically represents Antony using similar language (Scholte *ad loc.*): *ego arma contra consules imperatoresque populi Romani, contra senatum populumque Romanum, contra deos patrios arasque et focos, contra patriam tuli* (*Phil.* 2.72). O.'s line more specifically refers to the Gigantomachy, setting Augustus on a level with the gods and contrasting himself not only with Antony but also with the hybristic Giants, who piled Pelion on Ossa in their assault on heaven; he more fully develops the contrast with the Giants at 2.2.9–14 (see Introduction 8–10). O. narrates the Gigantomachy at *Met.* 1.151–62; cf. *Am.* 2.1.11–16 and McKeown *ad loc.*, *Ex P.* 4.8.59–60, *Tr.* 2.333–4, Owen 1924: 63–81. **saeua...arma**: cf. 1.8.26 *accedant nostris saeua quod arma malis*. **deos contra**: anastrophe of *contra*; cf. 2.1.51 *te contra*. Prepositions of two and three syllables are often thus postponed; see K–S I 586–7.

27–8 'Finally not one of my books lacks homage to Caesar – a thing which he himself does not need.' In *Tr.* 2.61–2 O. makes the case directly to Augustus: *quid referam libros, illos quoque, crimina nostra, | mille locis plenos nominis esse tui?* 'Why should I mention that my books, even those that accused me, are full of your name in a thousand passages?'

Caesareo...honore: the adjective *Caesareo*, construed with *honore*, is the equivalent of an objective genitive *Caesaris*; cf. *Her.* 1.14 *nomine...Hectoreo* and Knox *ad loc.*

quod like *id quod* introduces a relative clause when it refers parenthetically to a sentence (*non caret...liber*); G–L 614.2; K–S II 290.12. As often in O., the relative clause precedes its antecedent.

non...ullus = *nullus*, but more emphatic (*OLD ullus* 1c).

29–30 de me ‘because of me’ (*OLD de 14*). **laudes...deorum**: cf. O.’s description of the poem that he wrote and recited in the Getic language (4.13.17–32), in which the apotheosis of Augustus is a topic. **carmen** refers not to this elegy but to the three books of *Ex P.* 1–3 as a collection. Cf. *Tr.* 2.207 *perdiderint cum me duo crimina carmen et error*, where *carmen* refers to the three books of the *Ars amatoria*. **dempto nomine** is ironic in view of O.’s bold assertion of his name as the first word of the elegy and the collection. Even if one removed the *titulus* from the scrolls, *Naso* would stand out boldly at the beginning of the text.

31–6 Now that O. has identified *laudes deorum* as his subject matter, he expands upon the desired consequence: because his book ‘contains’ Augustus, it must meet with a favourable reception at Rome. ‘A branch of peace-bringing olive is helpful in war: will it profit nothing to contain the cause of peace?’ A far greater benefit than the symbolic olive-branch, O. suggests, is the *auctor pacis* himself. This is an argument *a minoribus ad maiora* (Quint. 5.11.9), which O. proceeds to expand in two further couplets (33–6), a more extravagant and rhetorically daring passage. Aeneas’ shoulders carried his father Anchises, and thereby a path was provided through the flames of Troy: O.’s book carries Aeneas’ greater descendant, Augustus, so will not every path lie open to it? The genealogical link between Aeneas and Augustus is standard panegyric; but the terms of this description pass beyond panegyric into the comic and grotesque, as Aeneas’ shoulders are compared to Ovid’s book. In *fert liber Aeneaden* O. develops the sylleptic wit of *habere* in 32, playing both on the metaphorical notion that a book holds or contains its subject matter and on a more physical sense of holding the *auctor pacis*, just as one physically holds an olive-branch. In 35–6 O.’s book both ‘bears’ Augustus as subject matter and carries him physically along, like a litter or wagon, on its unobstructed journey. In *Met.* 13.623–7 O. also exploits for sylleptic wit the scene of Aeneas carrying his *uenerabile onus* (625) from Troy; see Tissol [1997](#): 182.

31–2 *adiuuat*: *adiuuare* used absolutely is ‘very rare’, according to L–S s.v.; cf. *Met.* 7.177–8 *modo diua triformis | adiuuet*; Hor. *Serm.* 2.5.73 *adiuuat hoc quoque*; with accusative *Ex P.* 2.7.53 *adiuuat in*

duris aliquos praesentia rebus. **pacatae** = *paciferae*; O. first imparted this sense to the word (the other exx. at OLD 3 are a disparate lot, not corresponding to Ovid's sense here); cf. Virg. *Aen.* 8.116 *paciferaeque manu ramum praetendit oliuae*, i.e. Aeneas. O. echoes Virgil's line, anticipating the explicit mention of Aeneas in 33.

proderit...nihil (adverbial) are emphatically placed at the beginning and end of the clause and verse. Direct simple questions without an interrogative particle 'are chiefly passionate in their character, and serve to express Astonishment, Blame, Disgust' (G–L 453). **auctorem pacis**: cf. *F.* 4.408 *pacificumque ducem* also of Augustus in O.'s first version of the *Fasti*; see Fantham *ad loc.* Cf. also *F.* 1.709–22, an appeal to Pax on the occasion of the dedication of the Ara Pacis (30 January), celebrating the imperial house that guarantees peace: *domus, quae praestat eam* (721); and Augustus himself, *Res gestae* 12.38–9, 13, 25.1, 26.12.

33–4 foret: a metrically convenient substitute for *esset*; so often *forem, fores, forent*. **Aeneae ceruix**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.707 *ergo age, care pater, ceruici imponere nostrae*. **ceruix** 'shoulders', as often; see Summers on Sen. *Ep.* 15.2. **dicitur** is a signpost of allusion, like *fama est* and *ferunt*; such expressions signal 'specific allusion by a poet through seemingly general appeals to tradition and report' (Hinds 1998: 2). The reference here is to Virgil's famous description of Aeneas carrying his father Anchises (cf. *Aen.* 2.707–8, 721–3, 804), to which O. often playfully alludes: *Her.* 7.79–80 *nec... | presserunt umeros sacra paterque tuos*; *F.* 1.527–8 *iam pius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem | adferet*; 4.37–8; 5.563; *Met.* 13.624–5. **uiro**: Roman poets and prose authors often substitute *uir* or *homo* for a demonstrative pronoun, especially when someone has just been named; cf. 1.3.65 *Smyrna uirum tenuit*, i.e. *Rutilium*, named in 63 (OLD *uir* 6). Also, the poets avoid the pronoun *is* in oblique cases; see Axelson 1945: 70–3; Norden on *Aen.* 6.174 *uirum*. Aeneas is also the *uir par excellence*, identifiable simply as *uirum* in the first line of Virgil's *Aeneid*. **flamma dedisse uiam**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 2.633 *flammaeque recedunt* just before Aeneas reaches home to fetch his father; *F.* 4.800 *innocuum uicto cui dedit ignis iter*; *Met.* 15.441 (Helenus' prophecy to Aeneas) *flamma tibi ferrumque dabunt iter*.

35–6 Aeneaden ‘descendant of Aeneas’, Augustus. The patronymic appears first in the plural at Lucr. 1.1, then often in Virgil's *Aeneid*; in the singular first at *Met.* 15.804 *Aeneaden* of Julius Caesar, then here of his son by adoption. There is widespread reference in Augustan writers to the descent of the *gens Iulia* from Iulus, son of Aeneas, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 1.288 *Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*; often in O., e.g. *F.* 4.35–40, 123–4. On prosodic variation in *Aenēae/Aenēaden* see Wills 1996: 462. **iter omne**: i.e. not only a journey through flames. **et** ‘and (that being so)’; cf. *OLD* 15; but this example shows that the ironical question is not necessarily indignant: here it introduces a note of incredulous dismay (surely such a question ought not to arise; surely every path will lie open to such a book). **hic...ille** ‘the latter’, i.e. Augustus, whom O.’s book carries, ‘is father of his country’; ‘the former’, i.e. Anchises, whom Aeneas carried, merely ‘is the father of Aeneas himself’. Consequently, O.’s book carries a far greater hero and deserves an unobstructed path. For a similar contrasted expression, cf. *F.* 1.39–40 *Martis erat primus mensis, Venerisque secundus; | haec generis princeps, ipsius ille pater*. **patriae pater**: in 2 BCE the senate granted Augustus the title *pater patriae* (*Res gestae* 35; Suet. *Aug.* 58), to which O. often refers: *F.* 2.127 *sancte pater patriae*; 2.637; *Met.* 15.860; *Tr.* 2.181, 4.4.13. **ipsius**: the penult is shortened, as also at *F.* 1.40 (cited above); Virg. *G.* 1.452, *Aen.* 1.114; so often *illius*, *istius*, etc.; see K–H 587. **fuit**: zeugma, for the tense is proper only to *ille*; the reader must infer *est* for *hic*.

37–48 In this remarkable passage, O. continues to plead for acceptance of his book by casting his addressee (and his reader) in the role of the ordinary right-thinking person, who, when encountering a begging priest of Isis, the Magna Mater or Diana, does not fail to make a pious donation. He then dramatically assumes the role of the begging priest himself, transformed into a prophetic *uates* of ruler-cult. The *stips uotiva* is parallel to acceptance of O.’s book: just as we make the customary donation, so we ought to give a hearing to the poet who comes bearing *sacra* (47), the names of the Julian family. A crucial feature of this plea is the statement that we make such donations not because required to

do so by divine command, but because induced by divine authority (43–4). Hence O. can claim acceptance of his book under Augustus' unexpressed sanction.

37–8 *ecquis* is used in lively, emotional and urgent questions, always beginning its clause; K–S I 656 Anmerk. 2; II 515.6. Cf. *Ex P.* 1.7.5, *Met.* 3.380, 442, *F.* 2.8, Virg. *Ecl.* 10.28, *Aen.* 9.51. **audax** 'rash', 'reckless', because to revile the priest is to risk offending the divinity; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.25–6 *audax omnia perpeti | gens humana ruit per uetitum nefas*. **iactantem Pharia tinnula sistra manu**: lit. 'one shaking a jingling rattle with a Pharian hand', i.e. a priest of Isis. The participle is equivalent to a relative clause (*NLS* §98, K–S I 770); cf. 47 *sacra ferenti*. **Pharia**: enallage (or hypallage) adiectivi: although in sense both *Pharia* and *tinnula* belong to *sistra*, the first epithet is transferred from rattle to hand, allowing a desired distribution of epithets (abBA); see K–S I 220–1; Norden and Austin on *Aen.* 6.2 and 268; Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.28–9. The island of Pharos in the harbour of Alexandria was especially dear to Isis: *Met.* 9.773–4 *Isi, Paraetonium Mareoticaeque arua Pharonque | quae colis*; *Am.* 2.13(14).7–8; Tib. 1.3.32 *turba...Pharia* = priests of Isis; Stat. *Silu.* 3.2.101–2. Isis' cult on Pharos may have been of recent foundation (Fraser 1972: I 20–1); yet one of O.'s aetiologies for the constellation Taurus, deriving Isis from Io, connects the goddess's origin to Pharos, *F.* 5.619–20 *hoc alii signum Phariam dixere iuuenecam, | quae bos ex homine est, ex boue facta dea*. **sistra**: plural for singular; cf. the singular *sistro* in 45; *Am.* 2.13(14).11, 3.9(8).33–4, *A. A.* 3.635, *Met.* 9.784 *sonabile sistrum*. Use of the *sistrum*, a bronze rattle (see Plut. *De Iside* 63 [*Mor.* 376c–f]), is characteristic of the worship of Isis; cf. Tib. 1.3.24 and Smith *ad loc.*, Prop. 3.11.43, Stat. *Silu.* 3.2.103, Apul. *Met.* 11.4, 10. **iactantem... manu** etymologizes *sistrum* (σειστρον from σείειν 'to shake'), though Isidore of Seville imagines that *sistrum* is derived from Isis, its inventor (*Etym.* 3.22.12). On O.'s etymological wordplay see McKeown I 45–62; O'Hara 1996.

39–40 *deum matrem*: i.e. an image of Cybele, the Magna Deum Mater Idaea (Degrassi 1963: 126–7, 435–7). Her cult, originating in Phrygia, was brought to Rome in 204 BCE at the behest of the

Sibylline books and established in a temple on the Palatine (Livy 29.10, 14). It remained exotic and eastern, and participation in its rites was confined to the *galli*, Cybele's priests (Dion. Hal. 2.19.4–5); yet Cybele's associations with Phrygia and hence Rome's Trojan origins made her appealing to Augustus, who rehabilitated her cult; see Wiseman 1984. She had long fascinated the Roman poets: Lucr. 2.600–60, Catul. 63, Prop. 3.17.35–6, Virg. *Aen.* 6.784–7 (see Norden *ad loc.*). In *Fasti* 4.179–372 O. provides a vivid account of her procession at the yearly festival in her honour, the Megalensia, which he follows with aetiological explanations of various features of her cult; see Fantham *ad loc.*, Miller 1991: 82–90. **cornu tibicen adunco**: a pipe-player with the double Phrygian pipe(s) (ἔλυμος αὐλός), which was 'made of boxwood, and was invented by the Phrygians. It has an upwards-curved horn on one of the *auloi*, and it plays to the Phrygian goddess' (Pollux, *Onomasticon* 4.74); cf. Athenaeus 4.176f, Barker 1984: 267. The *tibicen* also begins Cybele's procession in *Fasti* 4, preceding the image of the goddess herself: *F.* 4.181–2 *protinus inflexo Berecynthia tibia cornu | flabit, et Idaeae festa parentis erunt* (see Fantham *ad loc.*). In *canit* O. etymologizes *tibicen*: Varro *L. L.* 8.61 *cum ab tibiis et canendo tibicines dicantur*; see Maltby 1991 s.v.; cf. Lucr. 4.584–5 *querelas | tibia quas fundit digitis pulsata canentum*. **cum**: an extreme postponement. Roman poets, beginning with Catullus, follow their Hellenistic predecessors in postponing conjunctions; see Kenney on *Her.* 16.26. Callimachus postpones ἐπεὶ to second position in its clause (Bulloch on Callim. *H.* 5.121). In Roman hexameter and elegiac poetry it is common to postpone *cum* to the second or third position; sometimes the fourth, e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 11.540 *Priverno antiqua Metabus cum excederet urbe*; or fifth, e.g. G. 3.347 *iniusto sub fasce uiam cum carpit*. Within the four books of *Epistulae ex Ponto*, O. postpones *cum* to second position six times (1.6.33, 1.10.8, 3.2.41, 3.4.15, 3.6.29, 4.1.11), to third position five times (1.5.33, 1.9.37, 2.5.24, 4.5.18, 4.8.36), to fourth position once (1.7.53), and to fifth position twice (2.5.9, 3.9.41). The present instance, in which *cum* takes seventh position in its clause, is apparently unique in Latin poetry. Such postponement creates no check in reading, since in nearly every case (2.5.24, 4.8.36 are

exceptions) the verb immediately precedes or more commonly follows *cum*; twice (1.7.53, 3.4.15) it is separated by one word. For postponed *cum* + verb at the beginning of a line, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 7.87 *huc dona sacerdos | cum tulit*. On the postponement of other conjunctions, see Norden 1916: 402–4. **canit** ‘plays’, ‘sounds’ as in Lucr. 4.585 *tibia...digitis pulsata canentum*. **exiguae...stipis aera** ‘the coppers that are their scanty alms’; *stipis* is genitive of definition, NLS §72.5. In *F.* 4.349–52 O. provides an aetiology for the custom of giving alms to the Magna Mater: *F.* 4.350 ‘*dic’ inquam ‘parua cur stipe quaerat opes’*. He learns that the Roman populace had made small donations with which Metellus constructed her temple, and that the custom of giving alms survives (in fact the custom long antedates the Magna Mater’s arrival in Rome: Wissowa 1912: 320). See Bömer on *F.* 1.189.

41–2 *ab imperio*: the preposition *ab* added to the instrumental ablative is common in O.; see Owen on *Tr.* 2.28; Guttman 1890.

nil tale: i.e. that prophets gather alms. **Dianae** has often been doubted. Madvig 1871–2: II 101 emends to *dearum*; Merkel deletes 41–4, followed by Gaertner, q.v. for other suggestions for emendation. Yet begging priests and prophets of Diana, though obscure to us, may have been known to O.’s readers: *Dianae* receives support from a reference in the *Suda* to Artemis of Perge, who oversees ‘begging priests and vagabonds’: ἡ Περγαία Ἀρτεμις τάσσεται ἐπὶ τῶν ἀργυριῶν καὶ πλανητῶν (*Suda* 2.576 Adler). See Kiessling–Heinze and Brink on Hor. *Ars* 454 *fanaticus error et iracunda Diana*; Callim. *H.* 3.187, *RE* Artemis II 1374–5, 1397 (Wernicke), MacKay 1990: 2077–8. **unde tamen uiuat uaticinator habet** ‘nevertheless her prophet has a source of livelihood’; the singular is collective. **unde...uiuat**: relative final clause: *unde* can substitute for *a quo*, etc.; *OLD* 10a, K–S II 284–5. On *habere* with such clauses, see NLS §148; K–S II 278–9. **uaticinator**: this neologism, which O. forms from *uaticinari* (cf. 47 *uaticinor*), adds to *uates* ‘bard, prophet’ the notion of singing or chanting prophecies (*canere*); see Draeger 1888: 17; Linse 1891: 28.

43–4 *ipsa...numina* is opposed to *ab imperio* (41): our sense of divinity induces us to give alms of our own accord to begging priests,

even though we have not been commanded to do so (Scholte).

turpe nec: postponement of the conjunction casts *turpe* into relief as well as giving the pentameter a dactylic beginning, as O. prefers (Platnauer 1951: 37); cf. 3.1.86 *clauda nec officii pars erit ulla tui*. See Hilberg 1894: 122–3, Platnauer 1951: 93–6, Knox 1986: 88–90; above (40) on *cum*. **credulitate:** used in poetry first by O. The word's connotations are normally negative: *stulta* twice in the *Amores* (*Am.* 3.3.24, 3.14.30) and *Ex P.* 2.4.32; cf. *Am.* 3.12.44 *credulitas nunc mihi uestra nocet*; *Her.* 17.39. *credulitate* in the same metrical *sedes*: *Am.* 3.3.24, 3.14.30; cf. *Her.* 12.120 *credulitatis ego*. O. favours the genitive and ablative singular of four-syllable nouns ending in *-tas* in the second half of the pentameter; see Eschenburg 1886: 22; Kenney 2002: 37. **capi:** cf. Livy 4.30.9 *capti superstitione animi*.

45 *en ego* redirects the reader's attention from the three illustrative examples to a special case – the poet himself, who suddenly assumes a priestly and prophetic function; cf. 2.3.25, *Met.* 6.206 and Bömer *ad loc.* **-que** 'or' (OLD 7). **Phrygiiue foramine buxi** 'the pierced pipe(s) of Phrygian boxwood'. Although *foramen* often refers to the stops bored in a wind instrument (*Hor. Ars* 203), here it refers to the instrument itself; cf. *Met.* 4.30 *longoque foramine buxus*, 'the boxwood pipe with its row of fingerholes'. On O.'s use of four- and five-syllable forms of nouns in *-men* in this *sedes*, see Eschenburg 1886: 15; cf. *Ex P.* 1.2.73, 1.4.15. **buxi:** neuter, 'boxwood'; frequent as the material of the Phrygian pipes, e.g. *Met.* 12.158, 14.537.

46 *Īlēae*: of four syllables; in the same *sedes* at 2.5.49 *surgit Iuleo iuuenis cognomine dignus*; also *F.* 4.124, 5.564, 6.797. The poetic adjective *Īlēus*, first attested at Prop. 4.6.17, is a hybrid, its stem in long *e* formed on analogy with adjectives such as *Orestēus* (1.2.78, *Met.* 15.489) from Ὀρέστειος. It is not found in Greek (at Cassius Dio 51.19.2 the *aedes diui Iulii* is ἡρῶιον Ἰουλίειον).

nomina sancta fero recalls *fert liber Aeneaden* (35); but now the poet himself as priest carries the names as sacred objects (*sacra* 47). Thus O. is implicitly identified with his book; this thematic conceit will return later in the elegy (72–4). *nomina* made physical,

whether as objects or agents, are a frequent feature of Ovidian transformative wit; see Tissol 1997: 53 on *Met.* 8.464, 508.

47–8 *uaticinor moneoque*: *uaticinor* recalls *uaticinator* (42), reinforcing the parallel that O. draws between himself as *uates* and the priests of lines 37–42. The verb is joined with another of similar meaning also at 3.4.94 *praedico uaticinorque*; *-que* often joins verbs of related meaning; cf. 1.7.7 *uenerantur amantque*; see K–S II 12e. On *monere* of prophetic warning (OLD 3b), cf. *Met.* 13.775 *frustra uera monentem*; *F.* 1.499 *doctae monitu Carmentis*. On the poet as *uates* see Newman 1967, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.35, 1.31.2. See Helzle 2003: 26–8 for O.'s remarkable and somewhat surprising assumption of a vatic role. **locum date**: primarily 'make way', 'give place' (OLD *locus* 12b), an expression appropriate to priests and attendants at a ritual procession (cf. Eur. *Bacch.* 69 ἔκτοπος ἔστω), but also 'provide a place' for my book in your libraries; cf. 8 *patet...locus*; *F.* 2.668 *cuncta loui cessit turba locumque dedit*, 4.390, 5.420. On the shift to the plural, see 19n.

sacra ferenti 'for one carrying sacred objects'. *sacra ferre* often means 'to perform sacred rites', as at Virg. *Aen.* 3.19, 5.59–60, 8.85; yet the expression can always carry a more concrete meaning, as at *Aen.* 6.809 *sacra ferens*; see Mynors on Virg. *G.* 2.476 *quarum sacra fero*. **mihi...deo**: best taken as datives of agent; the usage is mainly poetical except with gerundives, gerunds and perfect passive forms (G–L 354, H–S 96–8). It is common in O.; cf. 1.2.119, 1.5.44, 1.10.10, 1.10.30. The inspired *uates* utters not his own demands, but those of the god. **magno...deo**: cf. 1.5.70 *magni sic uoluere dei*; Callim. *H.* 6.121 μεγάλα θεός and Hopkinson *ad loc.* **ille**: i.e. *locus*.

49–58 Mentioning the anger of the *princeps* against him, O. returns to the priests of Isis, whose *culpae* against the goddess can be harshly punished by her. Yet public confession of fault is gratifying to divinities; regret can lead to a mitigation of divinely imposed penalties. This passage effects a transition to O.'s regret for his *culpa* and hope for mitigation of his exile; this theme predominates for the rest of the elegy.

49–50 'And do not suppose, because I have earned or experienced the *princeps*' anger, that he himself is unwilling to be

revered by me' (wrongly Wheeler–Goold, 'that I would not worship the Prince himself'). **quia uel...uel** = *uel quia...uel quia: merui* and *sensi* are not alternatives: both have occurred, as O. admits; yet Augustus does not for these reasons object to being worshipped by O. **merui**: O. often admits that he deserves punishment (*Tr.* 1.2.95 *merui*), or at least that his offending work does (*Tr.* 1.1.68); cf. *Ex P.* 1.7.69–70. **principis iram**: cf. 1.6.44; *Tr.* 4.10.98, 5.11.8. O. very frequently mentions Augustus' anger against him; an appeal for help in diminishing it will be the last note sounded in book 1 (1.10.44–5); cf. *Caesaris ira* 1.4.29, 1.9.28, 1.10.20, etc. **nobis**: plural for singular for metrical convenience, as often. **coli**: O. usually uses this verb of worship of divinities (1.5.42, 2.1.9, 2.2.123, 2.8.60, 62); it can refer to respectful attention to a friend (1.2.129).

51–2 *uidi ego*: a phrase common in Ovidian elegy in this *sedes*; cf. *Met.* 12.327, 15.262, McKeown on *Am.* 1.2.11–12. On the elision see Platnauer 1951: 74. **linigerae**: first attested at *Am.* 2.2.25, probably coined by O. and always used by him in this *sedes* (*A. A.* 1.77, *Met.* 1.747); on poetic compounds of this kind see Kenney 2002: 63–4. The adjective, always of Isis or her priests, befits the Egyptian origin of her cult: ἑσθῆτα δὲ φορέουσι οἱ ἱρέες λινέην μούνην (*Hdt.* 2.37), 'the priests wear a single linen garment'.

numen: the divine power of the goddess (*OLD* 2); cf. 43.

uiolasse: sc. *se*; the ellipse of personal pronouns in *oratio obliqua* is common (a colloquial feature, K–S I 700–1); cf. 4.1.5, 4.3.19, *Her.* 16.261, 18.32, 20.89; Owen on *Tr.* 2.346. **Isidis Isiacos**: juxtaposition of a noun – here the goddess's name – with an adjective formed from it resembles polyptoton (inflexional variation of the same noun or adjective); Wills 1996: 240–1 regards it as a subclass of that figure; cf. 2.1.41–2 *deque tropaeorum...auro | aurea Romani tecta fuisse Fori*, 2.5.63–4 *tu quoque Pieridum studio, studiose, teneris, | ingenioque faues, ingeniose, meo*, *A. A.* 1.657, *Her.* 19.160, *Met.* 1.413, 9.734, 14.618. It points up the fact that the same who admitted offending the goddess sits as a penitent before her altar. *Isiacus* is first attested at *Cic. Div.* 1.132, first in poetry here; cf. *Man.* 1.918, *Juv.* 6.489. **ante sedere focos**: seats or benches were set before the altar in temples of Isis (Smith on *Tib.* 1.1.30); *focos* here = 'altar' (*OLD* 3), an extension of its basic

meaning, 'hearth'. The separation of a preposition from its object is common in poetry; cf. *Ibis* 78 *ante sedere fores*, *Ex P.* 1.3.48, 49, 3.3.46, McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.26, K–S | 588.

53–4 On blindness as a punishment inflicted by Isis see *Juv.* 13.93 and Courtney *ad loc.* **huic similem**: sc. *culpae*, the crime of the penitent mentioned in the previous couplet. On the word-order see Platnauer 1951: 100. **lumine** 'eyesight' (*OLD* 9c).

55–6 *praeconia* 'advertisements', 'public announcements' (*OLD* 1b), a prosaic term favoured by O. (13×, in the exilic poetry 7×); infrequent in poetry before O. (*Prop.* 3.3.41, *Paneg. Mess.* 177) and after him (*Luc.* 1.472, 4.813, *Stat. Theb.* 2.176, *Sil.* 2.336); cf. *Tr.* 2.65, addressed to Augustus and referring to the *Met.*: *inuenies uestri praeconia nominis illic*. **sua quid ualeant numina** 'what power their divinity possesses'; cf. 4.8.30 *et, ualeant quantum numina, testis ero*. **proben** 'demonstrate' (*OLD* 7); cf. *Tr.* 1.6.17 *teste probaris*.

57–8 *ereptaque lumina reddunt* 'they restore the eyesight that they have snatched away'; cf. 53 *priuatus lumine*. O. often reflects on the theme of divine forgiveness and the lessening of an offender's penalty, e.g. 3.6.17–38, esp. 37–8 *restituit multos aut poenae parte leuauit* | *Caesar, et in multis me precor esse uelit*. His words here, while appropriate to the context of Isis (who characteristically imposes blindness as a punishment) and her followers (who can expect her forgiveness for repentance), gain added resonance in an allusion to Hor. *Epod.* 17.43–4 *uicti prece | adempta uati reddidere lumina*. The sixth-century poet Stesichorus, struck blind by the Dioscuri for his poem on their sister Helen, composed two palinodes, whereupon the Dioscuri, won over by his entreaty, restored his sight. By this allusion O. suggests a parallel between himself and Stesichorus: similar in repentance, he hopes to resemble the earlier poet also in gaining forgiveness. **bene** 'thoroughly' (*OLD* 13); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.24.50 *scelerum si bene paenitet*.

59–60 *paenitet...paenitet*: anaphora for emotional emphasis; see Wills 1996: 176. Now applying *paenituisse* (58) to his own case, O. effects a transition to the final section of the poem, in which he

leaves behind the priests of Isis and focusses on his own repentance and plea for forgiveness. **si quid...creditur ulli** 'if any belief is granted to anyone'. *creditur* is impersonal passive, as at A. A. 1.387 *si quid modo creditur arti*; cf. OLD *credo* 4a, Kenney on *Her.* 16.145. *ulli* substantive, as often (OLD 1b). **et facto torqueor ipse meo**: cf. 3.7.33 *torqueor en grauius*, *Am.* 2.19.34 *ne monitis torquear ipse meis*; *Am.* 1.4.46.

61–2 'and though exile is a grief to me, even more of a grief is my fault, and it is a lesser grief to suffer punishment than to have deserved it'. Seneca may recall the present passage in his more general statement of the same theme, *Dial.* 5.26.2 *maxima est enim factae iniuriae poena fecisse, nec quisquam grauius adficitur quam qui ad supplicium paenitentiae traditur*. **dolori** is predicative dative.

magis...minus are parallel adverbs; *mihi dolori* ought to be understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *minus* in the pentameter as well as with *cumque sit exilium* in the hexameter (so Gaertner) – thrice in all. An especially striking example of O.'s way with syntax is his predilection for the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction, a form of ellipse by which a single word or phrase is understood 'in common' with more than one part of the sentence in which it occurs; see Mayer 1994: 25–8, Kenney 2002: 73. **culpa** 'fault', a blameworthy error of judgment without the intentional injury to others denoted by *facinus* and *scelus*; cf. 1.6.25–6. In both passages *culpa* occurs twice; its repetition at 64 emphasizes O.'s relatively low degree of guilt even in a context of self-accusation; cf. McGowan 2009: 42–5.

63 ut concessive (OLD 35) cf. 1.3.13, 93, 1.7.19, 25, 59. **quibus est manifestior ipse** 'than whom he himself is more conspicuous', sc. Augustus, 'a god dwelling among us and visible, distinguished from the heavenly gods who are remote and invisible' (Owen on *Tr.* 2.54 *praesentem conspicuumque deum*); cf. *Tr.* 4.4.20 *quorum hic adspicitur, creditur ille deus* (sc. Iuppiter); Hor. *Carm.* 3.2.1–3 and Nisbet and Rudd *ad loc.*

65–6 'Death, when it comes, at least will bring about that I not be an exile; not even death will bring about that I be free from guilt.' Since Heinsius *ad loc.* described the first of these lines as *nonnihil suspectus* and the second as *praeter Nasonianam elegantiam*, they

have often been questioned, partly on stylistic grounds, partly because of their supposed unsuitability to their context. Recently Gaertner deletes them (with 67–8); Helzle defends them. They arise naturally from their context as an expansion on *culpa perennis* (64). Stylistically they are unobjectionable. Verbs of causation such as *facere*, *efficere* and *perficere* introduce either a consecutive (negative *ut non*) or final (negative *ne*) noun clause (G–L 553, *NLS* §168). Here both occur in the same couplet. In the second noun clause (introduced by *ut...non*), *non* modifies *peccarim*, ‘that I be free from guilt’; and the opposition *ne...ut* is rhetorically effective, stronger than *ne peccarim* would be. The repetition of *mors* and *faciet* at the beginning and end of the couplet is characteristic of *uersus recurrentes*, ‘serpentine couplets’; see Wills 1996: 432–4; McKeown on *Am.* 1.9.1–2. See 1.2.35–6 for a close parallel.

faciet: in the *Ex P.* O. allows himself greater freedom than in his earlier works to end the pentameter with a polysyllabic word; cf. Benedum 1967, Platnauer 1951: 15–17, Kenney 1996: 21–3. A trisyllabic ending occurs also at 1.8.40 *liceat*, 3.5.40 *recitent*, 3.6.46 *uideor*, 4.9.26 *tegeret*.

67–80 In a series of remarkable similes, O. forcefully emphasizes the corrosive effects of remorse on his mind and heart (*mens* 67, 75; *pectora* 73), expanding upon the point that his fault is a greater source of anguish to him than exile itself (cf. 61–2). Thus he rhetorically sets up his final plea: because his remorse alone is a sufficiently cruel punishment, his place of exile need not be so harsh.

67–8 *non igitur mirum*: 3.1.29 begins with the same words; cf. *Her.* 16.39 *nec tamen est mirum*. **tabida** ‘melting away’ (*OLD* 1b); the term aptly introduces the simile of water flowing from melting snow (Scholte). **de niue...aquae**: O. adapts to a new context a simile that is customarily applied to tears, as at 2.3.89–90, *Tr.* 3.2.19–20; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.57–8.

69–70 The image of a ship damaged by the hidden gnawing of the woodworm is unique to this passage; cf. Prov. 25.20a LXX ὥσπερ σῆς ἱματίῳ καὶ σκώληξ ξύλῳ, λύπη ἀνδρὸς βλάπτει καρδίαν, ‘As a moth in a garment and a worm in wood, so the grief of a man hurts the heart.’ **estur**: cf. *A. A.* 1.620 *ut pendens liquida ripa subestur*

aqua, G–L 172. **uitiata**: elsewhere in the exilic poetry O. uses this term of his own body: 4.2.19 *pectora sic mea sunt limo uitiata malorum*, 1.10.3 *curis uitiatum corpus amaris*. **teredine** only here in poetry, elsewhere in scientific and technical writers; cf. Vitr. 5.12.7; Plin. *Nat.* 16.220, both of whom like O. join *teredines* and *tineae* (72). **aequorei scopulos ut cauat unda salis**: the image of sea water hollowing out rocks goes back to Choerilus of Samos, *SH* 330 πέτρην κοιλαίνει ῥανὶς ὕδατος ἐνδελεχείῃ; cf. Lucr. 1.313 *stilicidi casus lapidem cauat*, 1.326 *uesco sale saxa peresa*, 4.1286–7, Tib. 1.4.18 and Smith *ad loc.*, Otto 774.

71–2 *positum* ‘stored away’ (*OLD* *pono* 8), like *conditus* in 72; cf. Prop. 2.25.15–16 *teritur robigine mucro | ferreus*, Virg. *G.* 2.220 *nec...salsa laedit robigine ferrum*, Otto 656. O. applies the metaphor of rust similarly to his poetic talent at *Tr.* 5.21 *ingenium longa rubigine laesum*. **scabra...rubigine**: cf. Virg. *G.* 1.494–5; used metaphorically at Catul. 68.151–2 *ne uestrum scabra tangat rubigine nomen | haec atque illa dies*. **conditus ut tineae carpitur ore liber**: the image of the stored-away book, damaged by the gnawing of the bookworm, recalls the poet's anxiety about the fate of his *libelli* towards the beginning of the poem (3–13). Hor. *Ep.* 1.20 lies behind this image, as often when O. reflects on books in the exilic poetry. Hor. addresses his book on the possible fates that await it: ‘if unread, you will provide food for boorish worms’, *tineas pasces taciturnus inertes* (12). **tineae**: the terrestrial pests corresponding to marine *teredines* (69); so Plin. *Nat.* 16.220. **carpitur** ‘is eaten away’ (*OLD* 7) = *roditur* (71).

73–4 *perpetuos curarum...morsus* ‘ceaseless gnawings of grief’ (Keene); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.11.18 *curas edaces*; *Ex P.* 1.3.33 of the gnawing pain of exile, *exilii morsus*. **fine quibus nullo conficiantur** ‘so that it [sc. my heart] is endlessly worn away by them’ (cf. *OLD* *conficio* 13b); the subjunctive is consecutive-generic. *fine...nullo* adds force to *perpetuos* (73) and is paradoxical with *conficiantur* – perhaps a hint at the endlessly renewed suffering of Prometheus, another Scythian exile. **habent** ‘suffer’ (*OLD* 16b); cf. 1.5.23 *animo miserabile uulnus habenti*; 1.7.50 *non leue uulnus habet*.

75–6 stimuli: sc. *relinquet*, ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with *uita relinquet*. In the ἀπὸ κοινοῦ construction (61–2 n.) the term understood is often in a form different from that which appears in the parallel construction; cf. *Her.* 2.75 *de tanta rerum turba factisque parentis* (*tanta* must be re-understood as *tantis* when the reader arrives at *factis*), etc. **quique dolet citius quam dolor ipse cadet** ‘and he who grieves will perish more quickly than grief itself’. As often, the pentameter restates the thought of the hexameter, here generalizing it. **dolet...dolor**: O. loves wordplay involving two different parts of speech that have the same stem, a phenomenon akin to polyptoton; cf. 52n. *Isidis Isiacos*, 2.5.63–4 *tu quoque Pieridum studio, studiose, teneris, | ingenioque faues, ingeniose, meo*, Wills 1996: 250–1. **cadet** has two subjects, *quique dolet* and *dolor*. A mild syllepsis, it applies literally to a human being's death, metaphorically to the cessation of grief (*OLD* 9, 12b).

77–8 hoc ‘in this’, i.e. in what precedes, both O.'s suffering and his *paenitentia* (59–66). For *credere* with dative of the person believed and accusative of the thing believed in see *Her.* 16.145 *credis et hoc nobis?* and Kenney *ad loc.*, *OLD* 4a, 5a, *NLS* §13.iv; cf. 59. **superi** pointedly recalls *caelestes* (55), who ‘often lighten punishments’ (57) when they see repentance; Augustus in particular is meant.

quorum sumus omnia ‘whose we are in all respects’; *omnia* is accusative of respect (G–L 338); cf. *Met.* 10.32 *omnia debemur uobis*. **forsitan**: O. and other poets often construe *forsitan* with the indicative, assimilating it to the prosaic *fortasse*; cf. Owen on *Tr.* 2.20, Knox on *Her.* 2.14, Axelson 1945: 31–2. **ope**: often (23×) in this *sedes* in O. (Kenney on *Her.* 21.14); for the short open vowel at the end of the pentameter see Platnauer 1951: 65.

79–80 ‘and I will be transferred to a place free from the Scythian bow’; *in locum* with *mutare* is a rare usage (*TLL muto* 1723.71–1724.14); cf. *Tr.* 5.2.73 *hinc ego dum muter*, ‘as long as I can get away from here’. **Scythico...ab arcu**: that Tomis was constantly threatened with attack by barbarians, skilled at archery, is a recurrent complaint in the exilic poetry; cf. 1.2.83, 1.7.9–10, 2.1.65; *Tr.* 3.10.55, 4.1.77–8. At *Ex P.* 3.8.19–20 O. packs off, as a gift to Maximus, some Scythian arrows with their quiver as characteristic products of the region. **plus isto, duri, si precer, oris ero** ‘if I beg for more

than that, I will be brazen-faced', a mixed future condition of the 'sit...erit' type, 'exceedingly common in Ovid' (Kenney 1959: 247); cf. Owen on *Tr.* 2.33, Hor. *Carm.* 3.3.7–8 and Nisbet and Rudd *ad loc.*, K–S || 395. **duri...oris**: cf. *Met.* 5.451 *duri puer oris et audax*; *Am.* 1.12.24, *A. A.* 3.587. On the hyperbaton, a figure of which O. is very fond, cf. 1.5.79, *Met.* 3.584–5, *F.* 3.384, Housman, *CP* 139–41, 415–17, Kenney 2002: 43–4.

Epistulae ex Ponto 1.2

From Paullus Fabius Maximus, the addressee of this letter and 3.3, O. had more to hope for than from any of his other patrons and friends (see Syme 1978: 135–55). Descended from an ancient patrician *gens*, he was consul in 11 BCE; he married Augustus' first cousin Marcia. By then Horace had already praised him as an eloquent defender of 'anxious defendants' (*Carm.* 4.1.14 *pro sollicitis non tacitus reis*). In 14 CE, not long after the publication of *Ex P.* 1–3, Maximus was Augustus' sole companion on a secret voyage to Planasia to visit the exiled Agrippa Posthumus (*Tac. Ann.* 1.5) – an event that shows his deep intimacy with Augustus and the trust placed in him. That same year brought the deaths of both Maximus and Augustus. O.'s hopes perished with them; for Maximus, resolved to intercede on the poet's behalf with the *princeps*, died before he could do so (4.6.9–12). Likewise Augustus 'had begun to pardon my misguided offence', but too late: *coeperat Augustus deceptae ignoscere culpa: | spem nostram terras deseruitque simul* (4.6.15–16).

The poem falls into two parts of roughly equal length. In the first (1–66) O. recounts the dangers and miseries of exile; in the second (67–150) he appeals to Maximus to put his case before Augustus and lays out arguments that the advocate can use on his behalf. O. emphasizes the long-standing friendship that binds Maximus to him, evident, for instance, in the fact that O. composed and performed the *carmen nuptiale* at Maximus' wedding, and that O.'s wife had long been among the companions of Marcia.

The tone is more formal than that of the first poem to Brutus, and O. addresses Maximus from a greater distance. However Maximus may have received this appeal, it is highly effective in its address to O.'s second audience, ourselves, the readers of *Ex P.* 1–3. Of special interest throughout is O.'s effort to engage both audiences' memory of his other works in making the present case. He begins with allusion to two passages in the *Fasti* that celebrate the eminence of the Fabii (*F.* 1.603–6, 2.193–244); near the end of the

poem his references to Marcia, Maximus' wife, remind us that her praises conclude book 6 of the same work (6.803–10). In the first half of the poem, O.'s account of his miseries recalls several passages of the *Tristia* (*Tr.* 3.10.51–78, 4.1.77–84, 5.7.9–24), and especially noteworthy is his comparison of himself to figures in the *Metamorphoses* (29–40) who, unlike him, escaped their wretchedness through transformation. In the second half the language of patronage becomes prominent (e.g. 66 *gratia*, 68 *patrocinium*), and the expression often recalls Horace's *Epistles*, as befits O.'s effort to establish an appeal for aid on a foundation of *amicitia*. The Horatian character of this section links it to the other poem addressed to the same Maximus, *Ex P.* 3.3, wherein echoes of Horace are abundant (Kenney 1965: 44–9).

The poet Cornelius Severus, O.'s contemporary and the likely addressee of 1.8, appears to have known and imitated this poem. In his lines on the death of Cicero, cited by the elder Seneca (*Suas.* 6.26), Severus makes two references to *Ex P.* 1.2 within the space of two lines: *abstulit una dies aeui decus ictaque luctu | conticuit Latiae tristis facundia linguae* (fr. 13.10–11). *abstulit una dies* = *Ex P.* 1.2.4; *Latiae...facundia linguae* is an imitation of *Ex P.* 1.2.67 *Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae* and 2.3.75 *tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae*. For Severus see the headnote to 1.8; for the relative dating of Severus' work and O.'s *Ex P.*, cf. Courtney 1993: 320.

1–2 *Maxime*: wordplay that calls attention to the fittingness of a name is characteristically Ovidian; cf. 2.3.1 (addressed to Cotta Maximus) *Maxime, qui claris nomen uirtutibus aequas*, 4.13.2 *qui quod es id uere, Care, uocaris*. Here O. specifically calls to mind a compliment to Maximus' family in *F.* 1.603–6. Whereas Pompey deserved his cognomen *Magnus*, the Fabii deserve the superlative *Maximus* as their own: *Magne, tuum nomen rerum est mensura tuarum: | sed qui te uicit nomine maior erat. | nec gradus est supra Fabios cognominis ullus: | illa domus meritis Maxima dicta suis.*

mensuram strengthens the allusion by recalling *mensura* at *F.* 1.603; the wordplay *mensuram...imples* glosses *Maximus*. **et geminas animi nobilitate genus** 'and you redouble your noble birth

by nobility of soul'. **nobilitate**: on four-syllable nouns in *-tas* see 1.44n. **genus** = *nobile genus* or *nobilitas*, as often (OLD 1b); cf. *Tr.* 4.4.1–2 *exsuperas morum nobilitate genus*.

3–4 The second couplet calls to mind another passage in the *Fasti* that celebrates the Fabii, *F.* 2.193–244. The *gens* had volunteered to carry on Rome's war against Veii unaided; when 306 Fabii perished at the battle of Cremera (477 BCE), one boy, too young for the conflict, stayed behind at Rome; he survived, destined to perpetuate the family that would produce Q. Fabius Maximus Cunctator, Rome's saviour in the Second Punic War. **qui nasci ut posses** 'and in order that you might be born'; *qui* is nominative in agreement with the subject of *ut posses*, though the clause that it initially appears to introduce, *non omnes Fabios abstulit una dies*, has its own subject. This discreet anacoluthon maintains the periodic structure of the sentence and offers no impediment to understanding. The expression *nasci ut posses* alludes to *F.* 2.241 at the end of the tale, where the underage boy survives *scilicet ut posses olim tu, Maxime, nasci*, referring to Fabius Cunctator. Thus the allusion links O.'s Maximus to his ancestor; destiny made provision for them both.

cecidere trecenti...abstulit una dies recalls *F.* 2.195–6 *haec fuit illa dies, in qua Veientibus armis | ter centum Fabii ter cecidere duo*; cf. *Lucr.* 5.95 *una dies dabit exitio*, *Virg. Aen.* 6.429 *abstulit atra dies*. Metrical convenience promotes the use of *dies* in the feminine in the nominative singular (Fraenkel 1968: 163); cf. 1.4.57n. *abstulit una dies* was borrowed by O.'s contemporary Cornelius Severus (fr. 13.10; cf. headnote) and later by Silius Italicus (2.5).

5–12 Unlike the preceding and following poems, this one does not begin by announcing the author's name. Instead he represents himself wondering whether to reveal it, fearing that if he does so, Maximus will read with an unreceptive mind. He then boldly resolves to identify himself – but a gap in the text prevents us from knowing how. The language and argument recall Byblis in *Met.* 9. Their situations differ – Byblis writes a letter to her brother Caunus in order to reveal her incestuous passion for him – but both Byblis and O. initially hesitate to reveal their names, fearful of an unfavourable

reception, then proceed to identify themselves. Byblis' letter begins thus:

quam, nisi tu dederis, non est habitura salutem,
hanc tibi mittit amans – pudet, a, pudet edere nomen!
et si quid cupiam quaeris, sine nomine uellem
posset agi mea causa meo, nec cognita Byblis
ante forem quam spes uotorum certa fuisset.

(*Met.* 9.530–4)

Later in the collection, at 1.7.1–6 and 3.5(6).1–4, O. begins a letter by playfully withholding his identity, echoing this passage and the opening of Byblis' letter.

5–6 forsitan: originally construed with the subjunctive, as here; often with the indicative in O.'s later poetry (cf. 1.1.78n.). **mittatur epistula**: a bilingual etymology of *epistola* (a borrowing from Greek): ἔπιστολή < στέλλειν = *mittere* (see Helzle on 1.1.2). On the imagined question from an addressee, cf. 3.5(6).1 *quam legis, unde tibi mittatur epistula, quaeris?* **quisque loquar tecum, certior esse uelis** 'and you wish to be informed who I am that speak with you'.

certior esse is a variation on the common expression *certiorem facere* (*OLD certus* 12b). On the letter as a conversation, cf. 2.10.48 *tecum gelido saepe sub axe loquor*, *Tr.* 3.3.17 *te loquor absentem*.

7–8 ei mihi, quid faciam? cf. *Ter. Ad.* 789 *ei mihi, quid faciam?* *ei mihi*, common in comedy and elegy, is a favourite expression of O.'s, occurring nearly always at the beginning of a line; cf. *Am.* 1.6.52 and McKeown *ad loc.* **nomine lecto**: readers of this letter in the context of *Ex P.* 1–3 will feel some ironic distance from Maximus, for we have been aware of O.'s authorship since the first word of 1.1; cf. 1.7.3. **durus** 'harshly', 'without pity'; the adjective is predicative with adverbial force. **auersa...mente**: cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2.179 *auersa deae mens*. **cetera** 'the rest' of the letter; cf. *Her.* 16.11–12 *nec uultu cetera duro | perlege*. One thinking of Byblis' letter may recall that it meets with a worse fate: Caunus angrily throws it down after reading only part of it, *lecta sibi parte* (*Met.* 9.575).

9–10 *uideris* ‘it is for you to see to that’. The future perfect of *uidere*, used with imperative force, is common in the second and third person (see G–L 245, K–S 149), in Cicero and O. often without an object, as here; cf. 4.1.15 *uiderit*, *Tr.* 5.2.43, etc. The rhetorical context is usually similar to the present case: the speaker sets aside a matter as someone else’s concern and proceeds to his or her own; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.118 *sed de te tu uideris, ego de me ipse profitebor*; *Met.* 9.519 (Byblis resolves to write her letter) ‘*uiderit; insanos*’ inquit ‘*fateamur amores*’. The MSS, but for one, read *uiderit*, which ill suits *tibi* and the second-person address; Heinsius restored *uideris* (the reading of one manuscript).

There is no pentameter in A and C, and this line was probably missing in the archetype of the surviving MSS (Tarrant 1983: 263); cf. 1.8.20n. It is likely to have contained the poet’s name and an object for *scripsisse*, e.g. *quae mala Nasoni sunt patienda tuo*, ‘the ills that must be endured by your Naso’. See Helzle and Gaertner *ad loc.* for the scribal stopgaps that occur in MSS: *audebo (et) propriis ingemuisse malis* (defended by Helzle) and *atque modum penae notificare meae*.

11–12 *cum* ‘though’, concessive (G–L 587). **grauiore...**
grauiora: on O.’s fondness for polyptoton, the repetition of an adjective or noun in different cases, see Kenney 1993: 460–1; also Wills 1996: 189–268. **uix** modifies *possum*.

13–26 O. supports his claim that he can scarcely endure worse ills by enumerating the dangers of his life in Tomis and remarking on the natural harshness of the place. He heightens the rhetorical impact of this passage by recalling to the reader’s mind similar accounts in the *Tristia* and by drawing on epic vocabulary and topoi, often mediated by their earlier use in the *Heroides* and other works of O.’s.

13–14 *hostibus in mediis*: cf. *Her.* 1.106 *hostibus in mediis*. On the theme cf. *Tr.* 3.11.13–14 *sic ego belligeris a gentibus undique saeptus | terreor, hoste meum paene premente latus*, 5.2.32 *saeuo cinctus ab hoste locus*, etc. **uersor** ‘I am’ with the connotation of being subject to circumstances (OLD 12); cf. Ter. *Ad.* 649 *nescis quantis in malis uerser miser*. **(tamquam cum patria pax sit**

adempta mihi): cf. O.'s earlier appeal, made to Augustus, to remove him to a safe region *ne sit cum patria pax quoque dempta mihi* (*Tr.* 2.202), *Ex P.* 1.8.5, 2.2.94 *terraque pacis inops*, 2.5.17–18 *uix hac inuenies totum, mihi crede, per orbem, | quae minus Augusta pace fruatur humus*.

15–16 On the two causes of death produced by poisoned arrows, cf. 4.7.11–12 *aspicis et mitti sub adunco toxica ferro | et telum causas mortis habere duas*; on poisoned arrows cf. 3.1.26, 3.3.106, 4.7.36, 4.9.83, 4.10.31; *Tr.* 3.10.64, 4.1.77–8, 5.7.16; Plin. *Nat.* 11.279 *Scythae sagittas tingunt uiperina sanie et humano sanguine: inremediabile id scelus; mortem ilico adfert leui tactu*. **ut** normally takes second or third position in its clause in O.'s works, rarely fourth except in the *Ex P.* (here, 1.10.18; 2.9.66, 80; 3.2.58; 4.2.32; 4.9.74), sometimes later still (150), but never with any impediment to understanding; similarly ὅppα takes fourth position at Callim. fr. 43.65 Pf., *H.* 3.108–9 (Helzle). **uipereo**: a Virgilian coinage, suited to dactylic meters as *uiperinus* is not (*Aen.* 6.281, 7.351, 753).

felle: properly gall: the meaning 'venom' is poetic (*OLD* 1c); cf. 3.3.106 *tinctaque mordaci spicula felle gerant*, 4.9.83.

17–18 *eques* 'their cavalry', collective sing. (*OLD* 2b). **perterrita moenia**: personification; the fear of the inhabitants is transferred to their city walls. **lustrat** 'circles round' (*OLD* 2a). The description recalls a passage in O.'s introductory poem to *Tr.* 4, wherein an enemy appears with bow and poisoned arrows; he is compared to a wolf attacking a sheep unprotected by the fold (*Tr.* 4.1.77–84); cf. *Tr.* 1.6.9–10. Behind these passages lies Virg. *Aen.* 9.59–60 *ac ueluti pleno lupus insidiatus ouili | cum fremit*, and behind him Od. 6.130–4, Apoll. Rhod. 1.1243–7.

19–20 'and the light bow, once strung with horse-gut string, remains with its bonds always unloosened', i.e. the attack is unremitting; a bow would normally be unstrung after use. **neruo... equino** gives the passage a tragic as well as epic tint, recalling Acc. *Trag.* 545 (*ROL* II 554) *tendens neruo equino | concita tela*, Virg. *Aen.* 9.622–3 *neruoque...equino | contendit telum*. **semper habens...manet**: *manere* is often used with a perfect passive participle (*OLD* 5b), e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 6.48 *non comptae mansere*

comae; here with a present active participle like the Greek διατελεῖν: αἰεὶ ἔχων...διατελεῖ. **irresoluta**: O. coined many compounds of this type (*in-* + perfect participle); see Kenney 2002: 66, Linse 1891: 49–50, McKeown on *Am.* 2.9.52 *indeserta*.

21–2 *tecta rigent* ‘the roofs bristle’ (*OLD rigeo* 3b). **ueluti uallata** ‘as if palisaded’. *ueluti* marks *uallata* as metaphorical: arrows stick in the roof so thickly that they form a rampart, paradoxically not a defensive one; cf. *Her.* 4.159 *auus radiis frontem uallatus acutis*. The variant *uelata* ‘covered’, ‘blanketed’, is also possible; see Helzle *ad loc.* **uix...summouet** ‘scarcely wards off’; cf. *Tr.* 3.14. 41–2 *custodia muri | summouet infestos clausaque porta Getas*. As at 12, *uix* modifies the verb, not the adjective that immediately follows. **firma...sera** has a concessive force: ‘stoutly barred though it is’.

23–4 The theme of the barrenness and infertility of the land, already present in the *Tr.* (e.g. 3.10.67–76), becomes more prominent in the *Ex P.*; cf. 1.7.13; 3.1.11–14, 19–20; 3.8.5–16; 4.10.31. **adde**: a transitional formula, here with an accusative object as well as a clause introduced by *quod* ‘the fact that’; cf. *Am.* 1.14.13–14 and McKeown *ad loc.* **loci faciem** ‘the appearance of the place’; cf. 4.9.81 *loci faciem* in the same *sedes*, *Met.* 3.414.

nec fronde nec arbore: cf. *Tr.* 3.10.75 *nudos sine fronde, sine arbore campos*. **laeti** ‘flourishing’ is preferable to the banal *tecti* read by most MSS; for *laetus* + ablative cf. Virg. *G.* 2.112 *litora myrtetis laetissima*, Curt. 5.4.8 *colles...frondibus laeti*. **hiemi...hiems**: polyptoton. The perpetual cold and endless winters of Tomis are a frequent topos in the *Tr.* and *Ex P.*; see Helzle 2003: 77 for a list of examples, also Virg. *G.* 3.356 *semper hiems* and Mynors *ad loc.*

25–6 *me* is in its natural place, second in its clause; on enclitic pronouns see K–S II 592–4. **pugnantem cum** ‘fighting with’, i.e. as an adversary (*OLD pugno* 1b); the objects, simultaneously literal (*sagittis*) and metaphorical (*frigore, meo fato*), exemplify syllepsis, a favourite figure of O.’s. The anaphora of *cum* in three parallel phrases (tricolon) connotes ‘all at once’, ‘all together’ and contributes a sense of weariness to reinforce *fatigat*. **quarta...hiems**: the winter of 12/13 CE; cf. 1.8.28n. O. does not unduly trouble himself to

avoid recurrence of the same word in this *sedes* in two successive pentameters; see Kenney on *Her.* 16.150–2. Usually such repetitions are of unemphatic words; here repetition adds further emphasis to the polyptoton in *hiemi...hiems* (26).

27–8 fine carent lacrimae: O. reprises a theme of the *Tr.*, his endless tears; cf. *Tr.* 1.9.37–8 *hic status, haec rerum nunc est fortuna meorum, | debeat ut lacrimis nullus adesse meis*; 4.1.95–8, 5.1.35. **nisi cum stupor obstitit illis** ‘except when stupor obstructs them’; on the perfect of repeated action in generalizing clauses, see *NLS* §217.2c. The perfect forms of *obstare* and *obsistere* are indistinguishable; the former verb is more common in O. **torpor** = *stupor* (27), the numbness of one exhausted by grief; cf. *Tr.* 5.12.21–2 *ingenium...torpet*. **habet** ‘holds’, ‘possesses’; cf. *F.* 2.754 *et gelidum pectora frigus habet*. The language recalls the physical process of transformation in the *Met.*, e.g. 1.548 *torpor grauis occupat artus*, and points forward to the *exempla* in 29–40, taken from that work.

29–40 The *torpor* just mentioned does not preclude suffering: O. contrasts his own fate with several figures in his own *Met.*, whose grief ceased in their transformation. His own misery by contrast continues unremitting, and his punishment becomes more grievous over time. These references to characters in the *Met.* are pointed and ironic. In that work he shaped his account of their fates as an author in full control of his materials; now he has fallen victim to a comparable fate, but worse, and his loss of control matches that of his erstwhile creations. Cf. *Tr.* 2.103–10 (O.’s *error* and Actaeon’s).

29–30 felicem Nioben: accusative of exclamation with *makarismos*, a rhetorical formula on the pattern of ‘blessed are those who...’; cf. Bömer on *F.* 1.297, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.13.17; cf. *Ex P.* 2.2.91–2, 2.8.57–8, 3.5.15–16, *Her.* 19.111, etc. Mention in 27–8 of the poet’s endless tears and grief-induced numbness may already have called Niobe to the reader’s mind. First stunned to silence by the death of her children and then transformed to stone, she unceasingly pours forth tears as an unfailing spring (*Met.* 6.146–312). **quamuis...uidit** is subordinate to the relative clause: ‘who, although she saw...’; on the indicative, cf. 1.15n. O.’s

words here recall those he gave Niobe: *post tot quoque funera uinco* (*Met.* 6.285). **posuit** = *deposuit* 'laid aside' (*OLD* pono 10a).

sensum...mali 'sensation of pain'; cf. *Tr.* 1.3.99 *mali moriendo ponere sensum*. **saxea facta**: cf. *Met.* 6.309 (of Niobe) *intra quoque uiscera saxum est*, 4.557 *saxea facta*.

31–2 *quarum clamantia fratrem...ora* 'whose lips, shouting your brother's name'; cf. *Met.* 2.355 *ora uocantia matrem*. The Heliades, daughters of the sun, grieving for their brother Phaethon, were turned into poplars (*Met.* 2.340–65). Their extreme grief makes them parallel to Niobe, as does the fact that their tears, transformed to amber, continue to flow (*Met.* 2.364–6). **nouo**: not only 'new' but 'unheard of before' (*OLD* 2a); this is the aition of the poplar tree.

33–4 *ille ego sum...qui* 'I am the (well-known) man who'. Emphatic repetition heightens the irony: the poet of the *Met.* cannot escape suffering through transformation. Figures in that work who pray for transformation, such as Daphne (1.547) and Syrinx (1.704), immediately receive it. *ille ego* occurs three more times in this poem at the beginning of a line (129, 131, 136); cf. *Ex P.* 4.3.11, 13, 15–17; *Tib.* 1.6.31; *Prop.* 4.9.38; Wills 1996: 180–1. O. is not to blame for the fact that these examples influenced the first of those four weak lines recorded by Donatus (*uita Virg.* 42) and Servius (*praef.*) as the original opening of the *Aeneid*: *ille ego qui quondam gracili moderatus auena | carmen...* **lignum** refers to the transformation of the Heliades, *lapis* to that of Niobe while also introducing the next example, Medusa.

35–6, wrongly deleted by Merkel and Gaertner, intensify the point just made. Petrification came readily to Niobe (and many others), but in O.'s case not even Medusa could bring it about. The hyperbole and wit are characteristic. Medusa's head never fails of its effect in *Met.* 4.655–62, 744–52; 5.177–249. **licet** + subjunctive 'although' (*OLD* 4a, G–L 607); with a future tense in the main clause also at 1.3.21, 1.4.17, etc. **ipsa Medusa...ipsa Medusa**: on the repetition cf. 1.1.65–6n.

37–8 *uiuimus ut numquam sensu careamus amaro* 'I remain alive in order never to be without bitter sensation', in contrast to those

who, mercifully petrified, are now insensate. One could initially take the *ut*-clause as consecutive (so Wheeler–Goold, ‘My life is such that...’), but the parallel *ut*-clause in 40, certainly final, supports the conclusion that the gods are keeping O. alive in order to punish him further. On exile as a form of torture, cf. 3.7.33 *torqueor en grauius*, etc. **grauior...poena** recalls 11–12. O.’s experience belies the topos of consolation that the lapse of time lessens suffering; cf. *Tr.* 4.6. On the interlocking arrangement of adjectives and nouns (abVAB), that of a ‘golden line’, see Helzle on 1.1.6, McKeown on *Am.* 1.3.9. O. employs it more often in the pentameter than in the hexa-meter; cf. 58, 70, 150.

39–40 O. mentions Tityos at *Met.* 4.457 and 10.43 among the sinners eternally tormented in Tartarus; his punishment resembles that of Prometheus. **inconsumptum**: an Ovidian coinage (see 20n.); cf. *Met.* 4.17, 7.592; *Ibis* 194 *hic inconsumpto uiscere pascet aues*. **renascens**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.600 *nec fibris requies datur ulla renatis*. Virgil’s description (*Aen.* 6.595–600) lies behind O.’s various references to Tityos. **non perit...perire**: cf. 4.12.44 *si modo, qui periit, ille perire potest*; *Tr.* 1.4.28. Paradoxical wit is characteristic of Ovidian style (Tissol 1997: 13–15, 37–8).

41–56 Sleep offers no alleviation of suffering, nor any respite.

41–2 at puto ‘it’s not as if’, ‘one might think’, introducing the objection of an imagined interlocutor, which is then refuted (*OLD at* 12); cf. 1.3.47, 1.5.25, etc. Cicero refers to such anticipation of an opponent’s arguments as *anteoccupatio* (*de Orat.* 3.205). **putō**: 1.1.25n. **requies...somnus**: cf. 3.3.7 *publica me requies curarum somnus habebat*; *Met.* 11.623 *Somne, quies rerum*. **publica** ‘available to all’ (*OLD* 4). **orba** ‘without’ (*OLD* 5), a metrically useful substitute for *sine*.

43–4 ueros imitantia casus ‘imitating real dangers’ (*OLD casus* 8); cf. *Met.* 11.588 *somnia...ueros narrantia casus*, 626 *somnia quae ueras aequant imitamine formas*. **in mea damna** ‘to my harm’ (*OLD in* 21a); cf. *Her.* 1.96, 5.58.

45–6 Sarmaticas...sagittas: this adjective for the Sarmatae or Sauromatae (see 77n.) first appears in the *Tristia* (1.5.62 Hall,

1.8.40, etc.); cf. *Ibis* 637–8 *denique Sarmaticas inter Geticasque sagittas | his precor et uiuas et moriari locis*. **dare...manus** ‘to surrender’ (OLD *do* 18a), often figuratively (A. A. 1.462, *Her.* 4.14, *F.* 3.688), here literally. **captiuas**: predicative. **ad** ‘for’ in a final sense (OLD 40b).

47 *melioris...somni* ‘of happier sleep’, i.e. sleep that brings more pleasing dreams; cf. Agamemnon's false dream, *Met.* 13.216 *ecce louis monitu deceptus imagine somni | rex iubet incepti curam dimittere belli*.

49–50 *quos sum ueneratus* ‘whom I have (always) held in reverence’, *perfectum consuetudinis* (‘perfect of habitual practice’), often used with a temporal adverb or number, e.g. *Cic. Cat.* 3.3 *semper uigilaui et prouidi*, 3.4 *in eo omnes dies noctesque consumpsi*; see Blase 1903: 161–4. In the visions generated by O.'s longing, the city, his friends and his wife are often joined; cf. his daydream of flight in *Tr.* 3.8: *ut...aspicerem patriae dulce repente solum, | desertaeque domus uultus, memoresque sodales, | caraque praecipue coniugis ora meae* (7–10); *Tr.* 3.4.47–78; *Ex P.* 1.8.31–4.

51–2 *percepta est...uoluptas*: O. here adapts to himself language that he had previously given Hero, who writes to Leander about her dreams of erotic longing for him: *me miseram, brevis est haec et non uera uoluptas, | nam tu cum somno semper abire soles* (*Her.* 19.65–6); cf. also *Ex P.* 4.9.37–8 *quaeque mihi sola capitur nunc mente uoluptas, | tunc oculis etiam percipienda foret*. **ab admonitu...boni** ‘by the remembrance of happiness’. Scholte aptly compares Dante, *Inf.* 5.121–2 *nessun maggior dolore | che ricordarsi del tempo felice | nella miseria*. **ab**: 1.1.41n. **status**: ‘state’, ‘condition’, a prosaic word favoured by O. in the exilic poetry (8×), perhaps with reference also to O.'s legal position as an exile (OLD *status*² 10); cf. *Tr.* 5.1.5 *flebilis ut noster status est, ita flebile carmen*.

53–4 *dies...cernit*: *dies* is personified by analogy with the sun, ‘who oversees all’ (Hom. *Od.* 11.109, 12.323). **caput hoc = me** (OLD *caput* 7b); cf. *Tr.* 3.3.45, *Ex P.* 1.4.40 *meum...caput*, and the similar use of *κάρα* and *κεφαλή*. **pruinosi Noctis aguntur equi**: O. elsewhere applies the adjective to night itself (*Am.* 2.19.22,

Phaenomena fr. 2.3), so its use here may be taken as enallage. O. introduced the adjective into poetry; cf. *Am.* 1.6.65 and McKeown *ad loc.* **Noctis**: the goddess; cf. *F.* 1.455 *deae Nocti*, Virg. *Aen.* 5.721, Tib. 2.1.87 *iam Nox iungit equos*. **aguntur**: cf. Aesch. *Cho.* 660 *νυκτὸς ἄρμ' ἐπείγεται*, 'the chariot of Night hastens on'.

55–6 *sic mea perpetuis liquefiunt pectora curis*: cf. 1.1.73–4 *sic mea perpetuos curarum pectora morsus; | fine quibus nullo conficiantur, habent*. O. now returns to this theme with similar language and word-order (38n.). **ut** postponed: see 1.40n., Kenney on *Her.* 16.26. **ignibus** (OLD 2d) = *facibus*, *taedis*, here the beekeeper's 'smoker'; cf. 131 (marriage torches). **noua cera** refers to the wax of new honeycombs, whose delicate and thin-walled structures cause it to melt easily. The beekeeper introduces a smouldering torch (*ignibus admotis*) into the hive to calm the bees with smoke as he prepares to remove honey (cf. Virg. *G.* 4.230 *fumosque manu praetende sequacis*). Like the modern beekeeper with his smoking apparatus, he must be careful to avoid damaging the honeycombs with heat (information kindly supplied by Ted Dennard of the Savannah Bee Company). O. was well acquainted with beekeeping and refers specifically to the operation of smoking at *Rem.* 185–6 *quid, cum compositos fugiunt examina fumos, | ut releuent dempti uimina curua faui?* It is unlikely that *noua cera* refers to an (erroneous) belief that new wax is softer than old, for which Gaertner cites Col. 9.15.11 *ceraeque nouabuntur, qua tanto deteriores sunt, quanto uetustiores*. Columella refers to the damage that old wax cells in the hive suffer over time, not to a chemical change in wax. Erasmus refers to the hardening of wax as it cools, not as it ages, in *De pueris instituendis*, advising that education begin at an early age: *mox tracta ceram dum mollissima est* (Erasmus 1.2.33). The simile recalls Narcissus' transformation, *Met.* 3.487–90 *ut intabescere flauae | igne leui cerae...|...solent, sic attenuatus amore | liquitur*; but in O.'s case *curae*, not *amor*, cause his heart to melt, and he is denied metamorphosis. **solet**: sc. *liquefieri*.

57–66 Considering the circumstances that constrain his hopes, O. asks Maximus to make only one request on his behalf: that he be

allowed to escape his present place of exile. Here he returns to the theme with which he had closed the first poem; cf. 1.77–80.

57–8 The chiastic word-order with multiple repetitions – *mortem, mortem* and *precor* matched with *deprecor* – is characteristically Ovidian and well suited to the paradoxical content; cf. *Met.* 7.445 *terra negat sedem, sedem negat ossibus unda*; Wills 1996: 393.

mortem...deprecor: cf. *F.* 2.103 *mortem non deprecor*. **idem** ‘but at the same time’ (*OLD* 10a). **ne mea Sarmaticum contegat ossa solum**: the ancients dreaded burial in foreign soil; see Helzle *ad loc.* O. mentions his strong desire to die and be buried in his own country early in the *Tristia* (1.1.34), makes it a theme of *Tr.* 3.3.29–46, 59–84 and returns to it here and at 108, also *Ex P.* 3.9.28. For the word-order cf. 38n. **contegat**: cf. *Her.* 16.276 *aut hic Taenaria contegar exul humo*.

59–60 *subit* ‘it occurs to me’ (*OLD* 12b); cf. 1.8.32, 4.4.47, etc.

Augusti: on the origin of Augustus’ epithet, see *F.* 1.609–16, a passage that directly follows the lines on Maximus’ name, alluded to above (1n.). **clementia**: cf. *Tr.* 4.4.53 *quantaque in Augusto clementia*. In the context O. similarly begs for a milder place of exile, *Tr.* 4.4.51 *mitius exilium pauloque propinquius*; cf. *Tr.* 2.125 and Ingleheart *ad loc.*, 3.5.39, 4.8.39, 4.9.3, *Ex P.* 2.2.119, 3.6.7, 4.1.25; Galasso on 2.1.45. **mollia naufragiis litora**: cf. *Tr.* 1.5.36 *et date naufragio litora tuta meo*. Exile as shipwreck is a favourite metaphor of O.’s; cf. 1.10.39n., Galasso on 2.9.9.

61–2 As the hopes raised in the preceding couplet now fall, the two couplets’ parallel constructions reinforce the contrast. The language and content of 59–62 recall *Tr.* 2.147–8 *spes mihi magna subit cum te, mitissime princeps, | spes mihi, respicio cum mea facta, cadit*. **tenacia**: cf. 4.6.7 *perstat enim Fortuna tenax*.

frangor ‘I am shattered’, a backward glance at the etymology of *naufragiis* in 60.

63–4 ‘yet I do not hope or pray for anything more than to be able to leave the place to which I had the misfortune to change’, lit. ‘my place wretchedly changed’. O. keeps his request to a bare minimum, asking only to leave his present place of exile. **speroue precorue**:

-ue... -ue is a poetical usage (K–S II 111). **mutato** has been often doubted, but of the emendations proposed (on which see Scholte, Gaertner *ad loc.*) none is convincing.

65–6 aut hoc aut nihil est...quod: cf. 1.1.40n. on postponed conjunctions. **gratia...uestra**: *uestra* is best taken not as plural for singular (= *tua*) but as referring to Maximus and his family, as the same adjective does later in this poem (131, 136, 145, 147, 149). On *uester* for *tuus*, a rare usage, see McKeown on *Am.* 2.16.24, Fordyce on *Catul.* 39.20, Housman, *CP* 790–4. **saluo...pudore** ‘without detriment to your self-respect’ (*OLD saluus* 7a); cf. 146 *salua...fide*. **queat**: consecutive-generic subjunctive.

67–150 O. appeals to Maximus to argue his case before Augustus, providing many arguments that the orator may use on the poet's behalf.

67–8 Romanae facundia, Maxime, linguae: on the address to an abstract noun, here ‘eloquence’, in apposition to a person, cf. 4.6.9 *Fabiae laus, Maxime, gentis*; Hor. *Carm.* 1.1.2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum*. After its use in comedy, the term *facundia* was reintroduced into poetry by Horace (4×). O. uses it often (14×); cf. 2.3.75 *Latiae facundia linguae*, *Tr.* 4.45 *patriae facundia linguae*. Cornelius Severus imitates the present passage and 2.3.75 at fr. 13.11; see headnote. **mite patrocinium** ‘kind advocacy’; cf. *Tr.* 1.1.26. For the polysyllabic verse-ending see Platnauer 1951: 17, Benedum 1967, Kenney 1996: 21–3.

69–70 confiteor: O. often inserts this word parenthetically; cf. 4.9.14, *Her.* 17.93, etc. **te bona fiet agente** ‘it will become good if you plead it’ (*OLD causa* 3a); cf. *Tr.* 1.1.26 *causa patrocinio non bona maior erit*, 1.9.46 *quaelibet eloquio fit bona causa tuo*.

lenia...fac modo uerba ‘only conduct your plea gently’, recalling *modeste* (65); *uerba facere* = ‘to speak’ (*OLD uerbum* 5c); cf. 2.2.62.

pro misera...fuga = *pro me exule misero*, abstract for concrete; cf. 1.4.34 *at nostram cuncti destituere fugam*.

71–2 quamuis deus omnia norit: since Hesiod Zeus’ eye is ‘all seeing’ and ‘all observing’ (*Op.* 267); cf. 1.7.43 *qui peruidet omnia Caesar*, 4.9.126. Augustus’ unawareness of conditions in O.’s place

of exile is paradoxical in view of his identification with Jupiter, suggesting that this *ultimus...locus* is so remote that it lies beyond *omnia*. The word-order of 72 is chiastic (abVBA); cf. 104.

73–4 *magna...molimina rerum* ‘great and weighty matters’; cf. *Met.* 15.578 *magna quidem rerum molimina uidit in illis*. **haec est caelesti pectore cura minor** ‘this concern is beneath his divine mind’, compendious comparison; cf. *Met.* 6.368 *uerba minora dea*, *Her.* 19.146, *Prop.* 4.9.32; see Kenney on *Her.* 18.69. The construction is familiar in Horace; cf. *S.* 1.9.21, *Ep.* 1.10.43, 1.17.39–40. On the notion that Augustus is too busy with important matters to give attention to a poet's concerns, cf. *Tr.* 2.215–18, *Hor. Ep.* 2.1.1–4.

75–6 *Tomitae* = *Τομίται*, the inhabitants of Tomis; cf. 1.1.1n. **finitimo...Getae**: collective singular; cf. 82 *Ausonii militis*; for the declension of *Geta* cf. 1.8.6n. The Getae inhabited the area around Tomis (1.1.2n.). **loca**: the place in apposition to the people, *Tomitae* (75).

77–8 *Sauromatae* = *Sarmātae*, which does not fit the metre. According to O. a *fera gens* (*Tr.* 3.10.5), they lived north of the Danube (Strabo 2.5.30); Dio 55.30.4 mentions their attacks on Moesia in 6 CE; cf. 45 *Sarmaticas...sagittas*. **faciant** is to be taken ἄπὸ κοινοῦ as the verb of *Sauromatae*, *lazyges*, *Taurica terra* (78), *aliae gentes* (79). **lāzŷgēs**: a sub-group of the Sarmatae. O. introduced them into poetry; cf. 4.7.9, *Ibis* 135. **cultaque Oresteae Taurica terra deae** ‘and the Tauric land, protected by Orestes’ goddess’, Diana (*OLD colo* 2); cf. *Met.* 15.489 *Oresteae...Dianae*. On the dative of agent with perfect passive forms, see G–L 354. The adjective *Orestēus* is from Ὀρέστειος; cf. 1.1.46n. *Iuleae*. The Tauric Chersonesus, scene of Euripides’ *Iphigenia in Tauris*, is on the northern shore of the Black Sea; but O.’s two retellings of the tale (*Tr.* 4.4.55–88, *Ex P.* 3.2.45–96) link it to his own place of exile.

79–80 *quaeque aliae gentes*: cf. 4.2.38 *quasque alias gentes barbarus Hister habet*. **frigore constitit** ‘has halted because of cold’ (*OLD consisto* 1b); cf. *Tr.* 5.10.1. O. often mentions the freezing of the Danube; see Helzle 77. **terga per amnis**: for anastrophe of

the preposition cf. *Tr.* 1.9.11 *radios per solis*; K–S I 587–8, Platnauer 1951: 103. For the metaphor cf. Hom. *Il.* 2.159 εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης, ‘the broad back of the sea’.

81–2 maxima pars hominum = Hor. *S.* 2.3.121, ‘the largest part of the inhabitants’. **pulcherrima...Roma**: cf. Virg. *G.* 2.534; on the apostrophe cf. *Ex P.* 2.2.68, *Tr.* 4.1.106. **Ausonii militis**: collective singular; cf. 1.8.18 *innumero milite cinctus*, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.19.12.

84 ‘and their horses, suited for gallops however long’. **quamque libet**: tmesis of *quamlibet*; cf. 3.4.6 *quale tamen cumque est*, *Tr.* 2.78 *delicias legit qui tibi cumque meas*, etc.

85–6 quodque...quodque ‘and that fact that’ (anaphora); these clauses provide further subjects for *dant...animos* (83); cf. *quod* (24), adding a clause as object for *adde*. **sequens** = *insequens* ‘pursuing’.

87–8 ira uiri mitis: the oxymoron hints that O.’s banishment is contradictory, out of keeping with Augustus’ natural *clementia* (59).

in istam: sc. *humum*, ‘to such a land as this’. Spoken with contempt, *istam* is here a stronger equivalent of *haec* in the following line, not meant to contrast with it. **humus** = *terra*, a poetical usage first in Propertius (3.1.30), then O. (*Her.* 4.68, etc.).

90 meque: -que signals the parenthesis (K–S II 26). **uitam cui dedit ipse**: O. often regards the fact that Augustus did not have him put to death as a gift of life, as below at 105; cf. *Ex P.* 1.7.47, *Tr.* 1.1.20, 1.2.61, etc. Here O. asks Maximus to interpret Augustus’ own clemency for him, attributing to the *princeps* a special concern for the poet’s safety.

91–2 minimo...nutu ‘with the slightest nod’ like Jupiter, *qui nutu concutit orbem* (*Met.* 2.849). **nil**: adverbial, stronger than *non* (OLD *nihil* 11a); see McKeown on *Am.* 1.2.21–2. **in** + accusative in a final sense is a favourite construction of O.’s; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.1.22 *in exitium...meum*, 1.1.14 *in mea fata*.

93–4 neque...et: OLD *neque* 8a. **cur morerer, quicquam mihi...actum** ‘anything done by me (78n.) for which I should die’.

95–6 tum: at the time of O.'s relegation. **coegi**: cf. *Tr.* 4.8.37–8 *ergo illum demens in me saeuire coegi, | mitius immensus quo nihil orbis habet?* **paene etiam merito parciior ira meo est** 'his anger is almost even more moderate than what I deserved' (*OLD etiam* 4b). **merito**: cf. 1.1.49n., 3.3.76 *non grauior merito uindicis ira fuit*. **parciior**: *OLD parcus* 2a.

97–8 di faciant: O. is given to the frequent use of this phrase or a variant of it (26×); see McKeown on *Am.* 2.10.30. **iustissimus**: cf. *Met.* 15.833 *iustissimus auctor*, Galasso on *Ex P.* 2.1.33. **nihil maius Caesare**: cf. *Hor. Carm.* 4.2.37–8 *quo nihil maius meliusue terris | fata donauere bonique diui*. **ferat** 'produce' (*OLD* 25a); *ut* is optional for introducing a final noun clause that follows *facere*, *efficere*, etc.

99–100 sub eo...sub Caesare 'under him (sc. Augustus Caesar) ...under a Caesar (sc. a member of his family)'; on Augustus' aspirations for a dynasty, see *Met.* 15.834–7, *Tr.* 4.2.9–10. **eo**: 'the oblique cases of *is* are used sparingly by the poets' (Kenney on *Her.* 20.29, q.v.); see Axelson 1945: 70–3. **semper**: Housman's correction (*CP* 928–9) matches *diu* and supports the parallel construction; *terra* in most MSS may have been copied accidentally from *terra* in 98. **perque manus huius...gentis** 'through the hands of his family' in succession (*OLD manus* 18b). **huius** is generally avoided in poetry, whereas the nominative is very common (Axelson 1945: 72–3); but *huius* is more common in O. than in other poets; cf. 1.5.32, 1.7.8.

101–2 at tu marks a return to second-person address, as at *Tr.* 5.11.29, *Ex P.* 3.3.59 (also addressed to Maximus), etc. **tam placido, quam nos quoque sensimus illum, | iudice** 'when the judge is as calm as I too have found him to be'. **placido**: an epithet of Augustus also at *Tr.* 4.5.20 *placido...deo* (also ablative absolute in a similar context), *Ex P.* 2.2.115 *placidus facilisque parens*. **ora resoluere** 'open your lips', a Virgilian expression (*G.* 4.453, *Aen.* 3.457); cf. *Met.* 2.282, 7.190–1 *ora | soluit*, 9.427–8, 15.73–4.

103–4 non petito bene sit, sed uti male tutius 'ask not that it go well with me, but that I be wretched in greater safety'. **non petito**

bene sit: *ut* is understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from *uti*; *non* can be used with the imperative because its negation is limited to the first object-clause, not applying to the two that follow *sed*; see K–S | 203. The future imperative *petito* is appropriate to legal contexts, as when Horace's lawyer Trebatius advises him (S. 2.1.8–9). **exilium... meum** = *locus exilii mei* (OLD *exilium* c); cf. *F.* 1.540, 6.666. The word-order is chiasmic (AbVBa); cf. 72.

105–6 *praesentia*: both ‘present’ and ‘helpful’ (OLD 3); cf. *Ibis* 281 *praesens...numen*, *Tr.* 2.54 *per te praesentem conspicuumque deum*, Hor. *Carm.* 3.5.2–3 *praesens diuus habebitur | Augustus*. **non** for *ne* strengthens the negation (K–S | 192, H–S 569); cf. 1.6.24 *non agites*. **squalidus...Getes**: 1.1.2n.

107–8 *denique* marks a concluding section to the list of wishes begun at 103; in three couplets, O. returns to the theme of 58, praying that he not die and be buried in exile. **si moriar**: i.e. here in exile. **pacatus aruum**: cf. 3.9.28 *ossaue pacata nostra tegantur humo*. **a**: 1.1.41n. **premuntur** ‘be weighed down’, ‘be oppressed’, recalling the common wish for the dead, *sit tibi terra levis* (see McKeown on *Am.* 1.8.107–8); cf. *Am.* 2.16.15, *Tr.* 5.3.39.

109–10 *male compositos* ‘ill-buried’ (OLD *compono* 4c); almost an oxymoron, since *compositos* connotes care, *male* the lack of it. **ut scilicet exule dignum** ‘as no doubt befits an exile’. O. often applies the more general term *exul* to himself in place of *relegatus*, which more specifically fits his case; cf. 4.15.2 *relegatus Naso*, 1.7.41–2n.

Bistonii...equi: the Bistones were a Thracian tribe, known for their ferocity (cf. 1.3.59, 4.5.35) and associated with their cruel king Diomedes; see 120 below.

111–12 *si superest aliquid post funera sensus*: on the question whether any sensation remains after death, cf. Cicero (*Fam.* 4.5.6 *si qui etiam inferis sensus est*), Catul. 96.1, Prop. 4.6.83 and Hutchinson *ad loc.*, and O.'s *Am.* 3.9.59–60 *si tamen e nobis aliquid nisi nomen et umbra | restat*. **aliquid...sensus**: partitive genitive (G–L §369). All MSS but one read *aliquis...sensus*, but Richmond's reading is supported by 2.2.98 *si quid habet sensus umbra diserta*; cf. *Met.* 15.408 *aliquid mirae nouitatis*, etc. **Sarmatis** = *Sarmatica*

(cf. 45); the choice is one of metrical convenience. On such feminine adjectives in *-is* see Bömer on *Met.* 5.303. O.'s shade, confined to exile as he was in life, will be prey to similar terrors; cf. *Tr.* 3.3.63–4 *inter Sarmaticas Romana uagabitur umbras, | perque feros manes hospita semper erit.*

113–14 poterant ‘might be able’; the past tenses of *posse* are regularly used with a potential sense in the indicative (*NLS* §125).

mouissent: on the pluperfect subjunctive in the protasis of an unreal (contrary to fact) condition with the indicative in the apodosis, see *NLS* §200 (i). **ante** emphasizes the prior need for Maximus to be moved before he can expect to move Augustus. Here O. follows the peripatetic rhetorical principle famously expressed by Horace, *Ars* 102–3 *si uis me flere, dolendum est | primum ipsi tibi*; see Rudd *ad loc.* **si tamen** = *si modo* ‘if only’; the conditional clause expresses a proviso (*OLD tamen* 5; K–S || 429); cf. 3.4.4 *in uestras uenit si tamen ille manus.*

115–16 Augustas: on the adjective, referring to Augustus, see Galasso on 2.5.18, Bömer on *Met.* 1.562. **auxilio trepidis...reis** ‘a source of aid to frightened defendants’; *auxilio* is predicative dative. The line alludes to Hor. *Carm.* 4.1.14 *et pro sollicitis non tacitus reis*, describing the same Fabius Maximus some three decades earlier when he was *centum puer artium* (15); it acknowledges simultaneously his skill at oratory and his long-established place of honour in Horatian lyric; cf. *Ex P.* 2.2.50 (to Messalinus) *poteras trepidis utilis esse reis.*

117–18 tibi doctae...linguae ‘of your learned tongue’; use of the dative instead of a possessive adjective is common in poetry (*NLS* §63); here it conveniently allows the poet to grant each noun a single adjective and so avoid *duo epitheta, quod apud Latinos uitiosum est* (Servius on *Aen.* 2.392). **aequandi superis** ‘to be likened to the gods’; *aequare* with dat. first here and Livy 4.20.2 (*OLD* 9); cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.394, etc. ἐπιείκελος ἀθανάτοισιν. **flecte**: for the metaphor cf. *Tr.* 2.573 *possint tua numina flecti*, etc.

119–20 tibi: dative of agent (1.1.48n.). **Theromedon** (or Therodamas, cf. *Ibis* 383), a king – of Scythia according to one

tradition (*Scholia in Ibin* 383 La Penna) – who kept lions as watchdogs and fed them on humans. **crudusque...Atreus** ‘or cruel Atreus’ (*OLD* -que 7), who served the sons of his brother Thyestes to him at a feast; see Owen on *Tr.* 2.391. **quique suis homines pabula fecit equis**: Diomedes, king of the Bistones (see 110), fed his flesh-eating mares on human victims; cf. *Her.* 9.67–8 *non tibi succurrit crudi Diomedis imago, | efferus humana qui dape paut equas?*; *Ibis* 381–2, 401–2; *Met.* 9.194–6.

121–2 *sed piger ad poenas princeps, ad praemia uelox*: the line's striking alliteration causes it to resemble a saying or slogan on Augustus' *clementia* and *liberalitas*; cf. *Tr.* 2.128 *o princeps parce uiribus use tuis*, Wilkinson 1963: 25. **quique dolet, quotiens cogitur esse ferox**: cf. 2.2.117–18 *qui cum triste aliquid statuit, fit tristis et ipse, | cuique fere poenam sumere poena sua est*.

123–4 *qui uicit semper, uictis ut parcere posset*: cf. *Am.* 1.2.52 *qua uicit, uictos protegit ille manu*; Aug. *Anc.* 3.14 *uictorque omnibus ueniam petentibus ciuibus peperci*; Owen on *Tr.* 2.43. **uicit...uictis**: ‘participial resumption’, a favourite figure of O.'s (Wills 1996: 316–25). **uictis...parcere**: cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.853 *parcere subiectis*; Hor. *Saec.* 51–2. **clausit...ciuica bella** ‘he ended the civil wars’ (*OLD claudio* 10a), but *ciuica...sera* shows that the verb is also to be taken less metaphorically: in 29 BCE Augustus closed the doors of the temple of Janus to mark the end of the Actian war; cf. *F.* 1.282 (Janus speaking) *Caesareoque diu numine clusus ero*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.294, Hor. *Carm.* 4.15.8–9.

125–6 *poenae, poena*: polyptoton strengthens the semantic contrast, as does the parallel construction; *coercet* serves ἀπὸ κοινοῦ for both clauses. **iacit...fulmina**: the language associates Augustus with Iuppiter Tonans, whose thunderbolt often provides a metaphor for O.'s banishment; see Galasso on 2.2.116, Helzle on 4.3.56. **inuita...manu**: O. often transfers a quality of a person to a part of the body, esp. the hand or eyes; cf. 1.4.56 *memori...manu*, 1.5.10 *inuita...manu*, 1.9.4, 3.2.66, 4.1.14, etc. **rara** ‘infrequently’ (*OLD* 4); the adjective is predicative with adverbial force, as often.

127–8 placidas: 101n. **orator** ‘envoy’, ‘emissary’ (OLD 1); cf. *Met.* 13.196 *mittor et Iliacas audax orator ad arces*. **fuga** ‘place of exile’, like *exilium* (104n.); cf. *Her.* 6.158 *exulet et toto quaerat in orbe fugam* ‘place of refuge’; *Prop.* 2.16.40.

129–30 ille ego [= 131, 136]: 33–4n.; on the anaphora cf. *Her.* 20.101–3, Wills 1996: 180–1. **colui** ‘attended’; the term encourages Maximus to assume the role of *patronus*. **solebat...** **mensa uidere**: *uidere* is often used of personified subjects, as here (OLD 11b). **conuiuas** = *hospites* ‘guests’, Horatian vocabulary appropriate to a claim of *amicitia* (18× in *Hor.*, 9× in *O.*, never in *Virg.*, *Tib.*, *Prop.*).

131–2 duxi uestros Hymenaeon ad ignes ‘I led Hymenaeus to your wedding torches’; i.e. *O.* in his *carmen nuptiale* summoned the god of marriage to the rite, as does Catullus in his marriage-hymns: 61.8–9 *huc | huc ueni*; 62.5, etc. *Hymen ades o Hymenae*. **ignes** = *faces*, *taedas*; cf. 56, *Met.* 9.796–7 *Venus et luno sociusque Hymenaeus ad ignes | conueniunt*. **fausto carmina digna toro** ‘a song worthy of a propitious union’. The quality and success of the marriage-hymn are an omen of the marriage. This belief is also evident in the ill-omened singing that accompanies unpropitious unions, such as that of Phyllis and Demophoon, *Her.* 2.117–18 *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululauit in illis, | et cecinit maestum deuia carmen auis*.

134 exceptis: sc. *illis libellis*, those of the *Ars amatoria*; cf. *Tr.* 3.14.5–6 *exceptis...solis | Artibus, artifici quae nocuere suo*; 3.1.65–6; *Ex P.* 2.2.103–4 *ingenii...Artibus exceptis, saepe probator eras*.

domino: *O.* is often ‘master’ of his writings in the exilic poetry; cf. 1.5.84, 3.4.45, 4.9.7; *Tr.* 1.1.2, etc.

135–6 cui tua nonnumquam miranti scripta legebas: the reference is to private *recitationes*; cf. *Tr.* 3.7.23–4 (to *O.*’s stepdaughter Perilla): *dum licuit, tua saepe mihi, tibi nostra legebam; | saepe tui iudex, saepe magister eram*. The nature of Maximus’ writings is unknown. **de uestra...domo** ‘from your household’. The specific connection of *O.*’s third wife to the *gens Fabia* is not clear. Helzle *ad loc.* regards this line as proof that she was herself a Fabia; others,

supposing that *domus* here = *familia* and includes *clientes* as well as relatives, think it more likely that she was a dependant of Maximus' family (so Gaertner *ad loc.*, Owen 1924: 29); cf. 145n.

137–8 hanc probat 'esteems her', 'regards her as *proba*'; cf. 140.

primo...ab aeuo 'from earliest youth' (*OLD aeuum* 5c). **est...censa** 'counted her'; *censere* is here deponent (*OLD* 8c); cf. *F.* 5.25.

Marcia: Maximus' wife and Augustus' cousin. Daughter of L. Marcius Philippus and the younger Atia, Augustus' aunt (139 *matertera Caesaris*), she receives an impressive tribute at *F.* 6.803–10 (see Bömer *ad loc.*); cf. *Ex P.* 3.1.77–8 (to O.'s wife): *cuncta licet facias, nisi eris laudabilis uxor, | non poterit credi Marcia culta tibi*.

139–40 *matertera Caesaris*: cf. *F.* 6.809; *matertera*, attested in comedy, was reintroduced into poetry by O. **quarum iudicio siqua probata, proba est** 'in whose judgment if any woman has been deemed virtuous, she is indeed virtuous'. For the play on juxtaposed cognates Helzle aptly compares Accius, *Trag.* 314 (*ROL* || 301) *probis probatum, CIL* 2.3476 *uixit probus probis probatus*; cf. Naevius *Trag.* 17 (*ROL* || 17) *laetus sum laudari me abs te, pater, a laudato uiro*. O. often signalizes his wife's *probitas*; cf. 2.11.17 and Galasso *ad loc.*; 3.1.76, 93–4; 3.7.12; *Tr.* 4.3.57, etc. **proba est**: for the aphaeresis, producing a disyllabic ending to the pentameter, cf. 3.9.6 *bene est*, *Am.* 2.4.6 *graue est*, 3.1.68 *breue est*, etc.

141–2 To illustrate the point made in 140 O. recalls Claudia Quinta, whose story receives full treatment in *F.* 4.305–44 in the context of the Magna Mater's arrival in Rome. The ship carrying the goddess sticks fast in the Tiber. When no one can dislodge it, Claudia, who has been falsely accused of unchastity, prays to the goddess to vindicate her innocence; she then easily pulls the ship free. **sua melior fama** 'better than her reputation'; cf. *F.* 4.307–8 *casta quidem, sed non et credita: rumor iniquus | laeserat, et falsi criminis acta rea est*. **laudantibus istis** 'if these women had praised her', sc. Marcia and Atia; on the conditional participle see NLS §92, K–S | 776.

143–4 O. briefly protests his own innocence – lately compromised by his *error* – before returning to his wife's appeal on his behalf; cf.

2.2.105–6 *nec mea, si tantum peccata nouissima demas, | esse potest domui uita pudenda tuae.* **sine labe peregrimus annos:** cf. 2.7.49 *uita prior uitio caret, et sine labe peracta est.* As Helzle *ad loc.* observes, Ovid's language may have influenced CE 1133.5 *cum quo triginta uixi sine labe per annos.* **transilienda** 'must be passed over in silence' (OLD 4a).

145–6 *de me ut:* elision of *-ē* is not uncommon in the monosyllabic pronouns *me*, *te* and *se* (Platnauer 1951: 74, 78), and this is an instance of prodelision: *me (u)t* not *m(e) ut*; see Kenney on *Her.* 19.29. Together with the aphaeresis in *uestra est* it assists O. in achieving an unusual ten-word hexameter; cf. 1.6.25. **sarcina uestra** 'your burden', i.e. dependant; O. calls upon the sense of responsibility for his wife that Maximus and his family must recognize. Propertius used *sarcina* in this metaphorical sense at 4.3.46 (see Hutchinson *ad loc.*) in a context that O. draws upon at *Her.* 3.68 *non ego sum classi sarcina magna tuae*; thereafter he frequently uses the term of a person; cf. *Tr.* 1.3.84 (O.'s wife speaks) *accedam profugae sarcina parua rati*, 5.6.5 *sarcina sum, fateor.*

non potes hanc salua dissimulare fide 'you cannot ignore her without violating your loyalty', sc. the loyalty of a *patronus* toward a *cliens*. This is strong language in view of the humble approach that this letter has long maintained. In 1.7 O. similarly introduces a stern reminder of his addressee's obligations near the end of a letter; cf. 1.7.61–6n. **salua...fide:** 66n. **dissimulare:** OLD 3.

147–8 *uos, uestras:* juxtaposition of the pronoun and its cognate adjective for emphasis; cf. 1.1.52n. **aras:** as places of sanctuary; cf. 2.2.27 (and Galasso *ad* 27–8) *confugit interdum templi uiolator ad aram*, *Tr.* 5.2.43–4 *ad aram | confugiam: nullas summouet aram manus.* **iure** 'rightly', because worship of the gods puts them under an obligation to the worshipper. Similarly, O.'s wife's dutiful attendance on her *patroni* places them under an obligation to her; cf. 1.10.44 *suppliciter uestros quisque rogate deos.* **cultos ad sibi... deos** = *ad deos sibi* (dative of agent) *cultos* (hyperbaton). The separation of a preposition from its object is common in poetry; cf. 1.1.52n., Platnauer 1951: 99.

149–50 *lenito Caesare*: cf. 1.4.57 *lenito principe*, *Tr.* 1.1.30 *lenito Caesare*. **busta** = *tumulus*, plural for singular. **ut**: 15n.

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.3**

The Rufinus of this poem and *Ex P.* 3.4 is likely to be C. Vibius Rufinus, who after O.'s death was proconsul of Asia and, in the 40s CE, legate of Germania Superior (Syme 1978: 83–7). In 3.4 O. entrusts his *Triumphus* to Rufinus, a poem on Tiberius' triumph of 23 October 12 CE (the theme also of 2.1); clearly Rufinus shared in the celebration (Syme 1978: 84). He is probably the Vibius Rufinus named by the elder Pliny as a source on trees, plants and flowers, including medicinal plants (*Nat.* 1.14, 15, 19, 21, 22).

In 1.3 O. replies to a *consolatio* sent him by Rufinus – a well-meant but unsuccessful attempt to assist the poet in coping with exile. O. skilfully frames his reply so that the larger audience of *Ex P.* 1–3 well understands what Rufinus had written: standard consolatory arguments drawn from traditional wisdom (e.g. 'time heals all wounds') and philosophic ethics (e.g. 'exile is not painful by nature, but one's judgment makes it so'; see Plut. *De exil.*, *Mor.* 599d). Treatises on exile were in O.'s day an established genre, though the principal surviving examples were written during the century and a half after his time by Seneca, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch and Favorinus; the same arguments and *exempla* tend to recur regardless of the philosophic affiliation of the author. With characteristic irony, O. reverses consolatory arguments and misappropriates the *exempla* meant to support them. For instance, Plutarch cites Themistocles and Diogenes, among others, to illustrate the point that 'every city at once becomes a native city to one who has learned to make use of it' (*Mor.* 601f). O. cites them as well, taking an ironic view of their exemplary fortitude, which he attributes to their pleasant places of exile: his own is so far worse than theirs that no fortitude can make it bearable (see 67–70).

Rejecting all consolation, O. asserts that love of country is stronger than any reasoning: *amor patriae ratione ualentior omni* (29). He refers specifically to Rufinus' reasoning, but also takes a view that is

from the start at odds with philosophic principles. According to the Stoic view, reason, *qua ualentius nihil est* (Sen. *Ep.* 74.20) enables a human being to subdue chance, pain and injury of every kind. O. stoutly denies it.

The extensive use of medical imagery, which recurs in 3.4, may allude to Rufinus' expertise in herbs and simples, though such imagery is common in consolatory literature (Davisson 1983: 176–8). O.'s inconsolability is a regular theme of the exilic poetry; at *Tr.* 5.2.9–10 he expresses it in terms of an unceasingly painful wound. In *Ex P.* 4.11 he declines to write a *consolatio* to Gallio, bereft of his wife, on the grounds that it would be useless and could open old wounds. Remarkably, O. composed a *consolatio* on exile for Carmentis, the mother of Evander, in *Fasti* 1, employing some of the same arguments that are rejected here, and some of the same *exempla* (*F.* 1.479–96). When she and Evander suffer banishment, she urges her son to check his tears and endure his fate, for others suffered the same misfortune before, such as Cadmus, Tydeus and Jason; all three *exempla* recur in *Ex P.* 1.3 (75–6n., 77–8n.). Carmentis' theme, *omne solum forti patria est* (*F.* 1.493), appealed also to Rufinus; O. opposes it in 29–42. There is a special irony in the fact that Evander takes refuge at the future site of Rome: *felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit* (*F.* 1.540).

There are three sections: a short and politely grateful introduction (1–10), the *refutatio* (11–84), and a conciliatory conclusion equal in length to the opening section (85–94).

1–2 'This greeting your friend Naso sends you, Rufinus – if one who is wretched can be a friend to anyone.' **salutem** recalls the formulaic *salutem dicit* of a prose letter. The greeting is identified with the letter itself; cf. 1.8.1, 2.2.3, etc. As often, there is wordplay on the meaning 'health', a hint of the medical topics and language to follow. **suus** 'his own', implying affection (*OLD* B7). This couplet is modelled on *Tr.* 5.13.1–2 *hanc tuus e Getico mittit tibi Naso salutem, | mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest*, lines which introduce a description of O.'s illness; cf. *Ex P.* 1.10.1–2. In these couplets, the *si*-clause of the pentameter offers an ironic reflection on the hexameter, whose terms cannot fully fit the poet's wretched

circumstances. Behind them lies Phaedra's greeting to Hippolytus, *Her.* 4.1–2 *qua, nisi tu dederis, caritura est ipsa, salutem | mittit Amazonio Cressa puella uiro*; also Byblis to Caunus, *Met.* 9.530–1; Arethusa to Lycotas, *Prop.* 4.3.1–2.

3–4 *reddita* ‘delivered’ as in a letter (*OLD* 12), also ‘rendered’, ‘imparted’. **confusae...menti** ‘to my disturbed mind’; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 2.736 *confusam eripuit mentem*. **solacia**: plural for metrical convenience, as always in O.; cf. 1.6.15 *aegrae solacia mentis*, 2.7.81, 2.11.11, etc. **auxilium...tulere**: often used of healing (*OLD* *auxilium* 6); cf. *Rem.* 48 *uulneris auxilium Pelias hasta tulit*.

5–6 Wounded by snakebite on the island of Lemnos, Philoctetes was abandoned there by the Greeks on their way to Troy. After a long exile, he was finally allowed to complete the voyage, whereupon the warrior-physician Machaon healed him. The story is told in the *Little Iliad* (*EGF* 52.6–10); cf. *Soph. Phil.* 1333–4, *Prop.* 2.1.59 *tarda Philoctetae sanauit crura Machaon*. At *Tr.* 5.1.61–2, 5.2.13–14 O. draws parallels between Philoctetes’ sufferings and his own. **Machaoniis**: first attested in O. (*A. A.* 2.491, *Rem.* 546) and possibly coined by him (Linse 1891: 23). Machaon was among the founders of Perge, and an inscription there of Hadrianic date records a temple of Ζεὺς Μαχαόνιος; see Pekman 1973: 63–4, *SEG* 34 (1984) 1305F, MacKay 1990: 2055n.23. If the Greek adjective existed in O.’s time, he introduced it into Latin. **Poeantius...heros** = *Rem.* 111, *Od.* 3.357 Ποιάντιος ἥρωος; cf. *Met.* 9.233 *Poeante satum*, ‘son of Poeas’. O. introduced the adjective *Poeantius* into Latin (Linse 1891: 24); he introduced or coined many adjectival forms of Greek names to suit his metres; see Kenney 2002: 40–1.

7–8 *sic ego*: often in this *sedes*; cf. 1.5.41; 2.7.15, 41; 4.9.93, etc. **mente iacens** ‘prostrate in mind’ (*OLD* *iaceo* 5); cf. *Tr.* 5.2.7 *mens tamen aegra iacet*. **acerbo saucius ictu**: metaphorical of an inner wound (*OLD* *saucius* 5a); cf. 2.7.41 *sic ego continuo Fortunae uulneror ictu*. **admonitu...tuo**: causal ablative.

9–10 *iam deficiens* ‘when I was already failing’, ‘fainting’ (*OLD* *deficio* 5b). **ad tua uerba reuixi** = *Her.* 11.63. **ad** ‘in response to’ (*OLD* 33). **ut solet infuso uena redire mero** ‘as the pulse is wont

to revive when wine is administered' (Wheeler–Goold); cf. *Tr.* 3.3.21–2 *si iam deficiam suppressaque lingua palato | uix sit stillato restituenda mero*. **infuso**: the technical term in medicine for administering liquids (*TLL* 1503.71–81). **uena** 'pulse' (*OLD* 2b).

11 *exhibuit*: for the meaning 'provide', 'furnish' (*OLD* 6a), cf. 3.5.22. The verb is rare in poetry before O. (18×); cf. *Tib.* 2.1.61, *Prop.* 4.11.54. **facundia**: 1.2.67n. **uires**: sc. *uim oratoriam* (*Cic. Part.* 81).

13–14 *ut*: concessive; 1.1.63n. **nostrae...gurgite curae**: for the metaphorical 'flood' of anxiety cf. *Lucr.* 6.34 *curarum tristis in pectore fluctus*, *Catul.* 64.62 *magnis curarum fluctuat undis*, *Virg. Aen.* 8.19; also *Cic. Ver.* 2.2.23 *gurges uitiorum*, *Sest.* 93 *libidinum...gurgitem*.

non minus exhausto quod superabit erit 'there will remain not less than what was drained away', a counterpart to the proverb *in mare fundis aquas* (*Am.* 3.2.34; cf. *Tr.* 5.6.44, Otto 1060).

15–16 'In a long time perhaps a scar will form: fresh wounds shrink from the touch of (the surgeon's) hands'. Line 15 recalls the consolatory commonplace that time heals all wounds (*Cic. Fam.* 4.5.6 *nullus dolor est, quem non longinquitas temporis minuat ac molliat*; cf. Otto 535); but, as *fortasse* indicates, O. is not admitting that it applies to his case. His point is rather that Rufinus' present consolation can do no good. **ducetur** = *inducetur* 'will be drawn over' the wound (*OLD induco* 17b). **horrent...uulnera cruda**: the personification is striking; *Plin. Ep.* 5.16.11 reproduces it, imitating this passage: *ut enim crudum adhuc uulnus medentium manus reformidat, deinde patitur atque ultro requirit, sic recens animi dolor consolationes reicit ac refugit, mox desiderat et clementer admotis adquiescit*; cf. *Tr.* 3.11.19 *uulnera cruda*.

17–18 *non est in medico semper* 'it is not always in the doctor's power' (*OLD in* 26b); cf. *Met.* 7.7.23–4 *uiuat an ille | occidat, in dis est* and Bömer *ad loc.* **docta**: perhaps with concessive force (Gaertner), 'learned though it be'; cf. 1.2.22n. **malum**: often of disease (*OLD malum*^{17b}); cf. 3.2.14, 3.9.16, etc.

19–20 This very striking image interfuses the vocabulary of medicine and myth, as blood, shed from a pulmonary haemorrhage

and streaming out, leads one down to the rivers of the underworld. The chest was the seat of reason (at Persius 5.92 *pulmo* = *animus*) and the emotions; cf. 22n. **cernis ut** ‘you see how’ (*OLD ut* A1b); cf. 1.4.11, 1.5.5, *Tr.* 5.14.37. **molli** ‘tender’, but also ‘sickly’, ‘weak’ in this context, like μαλακός (LSJ s.v. III 3). **remissus** ‘shed’ (*OLD* 5b), i.e. coughed up. **certo limite ducat** ‘leads by a sure path’; *ducere* is often used absolutely (*OLD* 9a).

21–2 licet: 1.2.35n. **Epidaurius**: Aesculapius, whose principal healing-cult was at Epidaurus; cf. *Met.* 15.723, Prop. 2.1.61–2 *et deus exstinctum Cressis Epidaurius herbis | restituit patriis Androgeona focis*. As in the reference to Philoctetes in line 5, O. here echoes the medical language and theme of Prop. 2.1 (see Gaertner on 1.3.5). **uulnera cordis** refers to physical wounds to the heart, but hints at emotional wounds and ailments that may be regarded as equally incurable; cf. Tib. 2.3.13–14 (Apollo) *nec potuit curas sanare salubribus herbis: | quidquid erat medicae uicerat artis amor*.

23–4 nodosam...podagram: gout and other diseases of the joints were regarded as difficult to cure and, in inveterate cases, incurable (Cels. 4.30, Cael. Aur. *Chron.* 5.2.34); *nodosam* is best taken as ‘once it has become knotty’. **formidatis...aquis** ‘the waters feared’, sc. by victims of hydrophobia, for whom there was scant hope: Cels. 5.27.2c *aquae timor...quo oppressis in angusto spes est*. **auxiliatur** ‘is efficacious against’ + dative, a medical term (*OLD* 2b).

25–6 To point up the comparison between mental disquiet (*cura*) and the physical diseases just listed, O. repeats *interdum* and *arte* from 18. **medicabilis**: an Ovidian coinage, formed from Virgil’s *inmedicabilis* (*Aen.* 12.858); cf. *Her.* 5.149 *amor non est medicabilis herbis*; *Rem.* 135, *Met.* 1.190, 2.825, 10.189, Linse 1891: 38. For O.’s formation of adjectives in *-bilis*, see McKeown on *Am.* 1.6.59.

ut sit: sc. *medicabilis* ‘in order that it be curable’. **est extenuanda** ‘it must be relieved’, ‘lessened’, a term used of medical conditions (*OLD* 3b).

27–8 *cum...firmarunt...sumptaque sunt*: for concessive *cum* + perfect indicative, see Kenney on *Her.* 21.151–2. **firmarunt animum praecepta**: the language is that of philosophical ethics. The transition from medical to ethical vocabulary is a natural one; cf. *Cic. Fam.* 5.13 *tuis monitis praeceptisque omnis est abiciendus dolor*, *Tusc.* 2.28 *firmandus animus ad dolorem ferendum*, *Virg. G.* 4.386 *firmans animum*. **iacentem**: 7n. **pectoris arma tui** ‘the armour of your heart’, i.e. your consolatory precepts; for ethical weapons cf. *Hor. S.* 2.3.296–7 *haec mihi Stertinius, sapientum octauus, amico | arma dedit*.

29–30 *amor patriae* recalls the love of country attributed by O. to exiles in his earlier works: the companions of Hercules, *F.* 5.653 *patriae dulci tanguntur amore*; Daedalus, *Met.* 8.183–4 *Creten longumque perosus | exilium tactusque loci natalis amore*. **ratione ualentior omni**: cf. *Tr.* 3.6.18 *ratio fatum uincere nulla ualet*.

retexit ‘unweaves’, ‘undoes’. The verb is used literally of Penelope’s unweaving (*Am.* 3.9.30 *tardaque nocturno tela retexta dolo*), metaphorically of deleting or canceling written work (*OLD* 2a, b); cf. *Rem.* 12 *nec noua praeteritum Musa retexit opus*, *Hor. S.* 2.3.2 *scriptorum quaeque retexens*.

31–2 O. seeks to disarm criticism, admitting to a ‘soft heart’ as he introduces a defence of *amor patriae* in the following lines (33–46).

pium...hoc: *hoc* points forward to the indirect statement of the penta-meter: O.’s softheartedness can be considered *pious* if taken to reflect a sense of loyalty towards his native land. **muliebre** ‘womanish’, ‘unmanly’. **molle cor**: the adjective can be taken negatively (= *muliebre*; cf. *OLD* 13) or positively (‘gentle’, ‘kindly’; cf. *OLD* 11). At *Tr.* 5.8.28 O. attributes a *molle cor* to Augustus, referring to his merciful nature: *molle cor ad timidas sic habet ille preces*.

33–4 *prudentia* = πρόνοια, the ‘wisdom’ attributed to Ulysses by the philosophers, who interpreted Homer’s hero as an ethical example; cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.2.17–18 *quid uirtus et quid sapientia possit, | utile proposuit nobis exemplar Vlixem*; for Odyssean *prudentia* and related terms, see Kenney 2003: 168–70. By associating himself with Ulysses, both *sapientissimus uir* (*Cic. de Orat.* 1.196) and

exemplum of *amor patriae*, O. refutes Rufinus in his own terms.

optat |...**focis** follows *Od.* 1.58–9 ἰέμενος καὶ καπνὸν ἀποθρώσκοντα νοῆσαι | ἧς γαίης, ‘eager to descry the smoke rising from his land’.

35–6 Continuing the Odyssean theme, O. generalizes *amor patriae* to include all people. **nescioqua...dulcedine**: cf. *Od.* 9.27–8 οὐ τοι ἐγὼ γε | ἧς γαίης δύναμαι γλυκερώτερον ἄλλο ἰδέσθαι, ‘for my part I cannot see anything sweeter than one’s country’, 34 οὐδὲν γλύκιον ἧς πατρίδος, ‘nothing is sweeter than one’s native land’; *Tr.* 3.8.8 *patriae...dulce solum*. For the contrary view, cf. Carmentis’ consolatory speech to Evander, *F.* 1.493 *omne solum forti patria est. ducit* ‘beguiles’, ‘draws’ (*OLD* 18).

37 For the opposition between Rome and Scythia, cf. *Tr.* 1.3.61–2 ‘*Scythia est, quo mittimur, inquam, | Roma relinquenda est*’; 4.6.45–7. The area around Tomis, south of the mouth of the Danube, was known as Scythia Minor, which O. opportunistically conflates with Scythia; see *BA*, maps 22, 23.

39–42 O. steals another rhetorical weapon from the philosophers, who often cite animals as *exempla* of natural behaviour, as when Cicero refutes Epicurean ethics by claiming that even animals are moved by higher motives than pleasure and pain (*Fin.* 2.109–10). O.’s *exempla* similarly represent animals’ love of their accustomed haunts as a higher impulse in them (42 *nec feritas illos impedit*), neatly turning the argument from nature against philosophical consolation.

39 ‘though Pandion’s daughter may be well off in her cage’.
cum: concessive. **bene sit** + dative: cf. *OLD bene* 9b, 1.2.103n. *non petito bene sit*. **Pandione natae**: Philomela, transformed into a nightingale (*Met.* 6.412–674), an apt parallel for the exiled poet; cf. *Met.* 6.520 *Pandione natam*, 634. At Cic. *Fin.* 5.56 occurs a similar *exemplum*; caged animals, though better fed than when they were free, miss the free-ranging movement that nature once granted them: *ne bestiae quidem quas delectationis causa concludimus, cum copiosius alantur quam si essent liberae, facile patiuntur sese contineri, motusque solutos et uagos a natura sibi tributos requirunt*.

41–2 *adsuetos...adsueta*: polyptoton (see Wills 1996: 228–31). Repetition of the participle reinforces its meaning, making the word itself accustomed and familiar. **feritas** sc. *antrorum*, not *leonum*. The caves are to the lions as Scythia is to the barbarians (37–8) – inhospitable but what they are used to. For *feritas* of places cf. 2.2.110 (OLD 2c); cf. A. A. 2.345 on the power of habit: *nihil assuetudine maius*. **antra** ‘lair’, ‘dens’ in caves or hollows (OLD 1c).

43–4 *morsus*: 1.1.73n. **fomentis...tuis** ‘as a result of your poultices’ (causal ablative), a rather scornful return to medical vocabulary; cf. 2.3.94 *fomentisque iuuas uulnera nostra tuis*. **cedere** ‘withdraw’, ‘depart’ (OLD 4c).

45–6 ‘See to it that you and yours (1.2.66n.) be not yourselves so dear to me, so that it will be a lighter misfortune to be deprived of such friends.’ An awkward couplet. After *tam*, the reader would naturally take the *ut*-clause as consecutive; but a final clause gives better sense. O. remains inconsolable at his separation from his friends and unaffected by Rufinus’ consolatory arguments; only a change in the friends themselves could make his exile less grievous. With some bitterness, O. ironically asks that his friends make themselves less lovable in an effort to console him. **effice...ne**: G–L 553. **caruisse**: perfect infinitive for present, favoured by the elegists in this *sedes* for metrical convenience; see Kenney on *Her.* 16.204, Maltby on *Tib.* 1.1.29–30, Platnauer 1951: 109–12.

47–60 O. counters a consolatory objection – that his place of exile could be even worse than it is – by returning to the theme of *asperitas loci*; see 1.2.23–4n.

47–8 at *puto* ‘one might think’; cf. 1.2.41n. **qua genitus fueram, tellure carenti**: sc. *mihi* ‘though deprived of the land of my birth’.

genitus fueram: *fueram* = *eram* in the pluperfect passive commonly after *Livy* (NLS §100(i)b); here the choice is one of metrical convenience; cf. 4.14.33. **in...loco**: hyperbaton; cf. 1.1.52, 1.2.148nn. **tamen** signals that *carenti* is concessive; cf. *Her.* 16.238 and Kenney *ad loc.* **humano** ‘inhabited’ (*F.* 1.248, 300) or ‘civilized’ (OLD 5a).

49–50 *orbis...extremi* ‘of the world's edge’ (*OLD extremus* 1b); cf. *Tr.* 3.1.50 *procul extremo pulsus in orbe latet*, 3.3.3, 4.9.9, etc. **in...harenis**: hyperbaton; cf. 48. **perpetuas...niues**: cf. *Tr.* 3.10.14 (*niuem*) *indurat Boreas perpetuamque facit*.

51–2 The region in fact lacks fruit trees, grapes, willows and oaks; mention of their absence also calls to mind the many descriptions of gardens and *loca amoena* in which they flourish, e.g. the garden of Alcinous (*Hom. Od.* 7.112–31, *Virg. G.* 2.87), Horace's farm (*Ep.* 1.16.1–3), Virgil's Italian countryside (*G.* 2.1–16); see Helzle *ad loc.* for further exx. Cf. *Met.* 8.789 (of Scythia) *triste solum, sterilis, sine fruge, sine arbore tellus*. **non...non...| non**: the anaphora is very forceful, recalling the accumulation of negatives in descriptions of chaos, *Met.* 1.10–14, *Lucr.* 5.432–5; the pairing *salices ripa, robora monte* effectively supplies *non* for the latter pair. **educat**: used ἀπὸ κοινοῦ with two objects, just as *non...uident* serves for two subjects.

ripa...monte: omission of *in* with the local ablative is poetical; *NLS* §51(iv).

53–4 *neue* = *et, ne* (*OLD neue* 2b). **laudes**: generalizing second-person subjunctive (cf. 55), here doing double duty as the subjunctive of a final clause. **uentorum rabie**: causal ablative; cf. *Met.* 5.7 *uentorum rabies*. **solibus orba** ‘bereft of sunlight’ (*OLD sol* 4a); on *orba* cf. 1.2.42n.

55–6 *quocumque aspicias*: generalizing second-person subjunctive. O. favours such expressions in this *sedes*; cf. *Tr.* 1.2.23, 1.3.21, 1.11.23. **campi cultore carentes**: the alliteration of *c* is common in O. (Gaertner); cf. 1.8.32 *cum cara coniuge*, *Her.* 12.18, *A. A.* 2.23, 3.521, etc. **nemo** is avoided by poets before O. He uses it 24×, always in the nominative (7× *Tr.*, 8× *Ex P.*), *nullus* serving for the oblique cases; see Axelson 1945: 76–7. **uindicat** ‘claims’ as property (*OLD* 1a). **arua** is ironic: derived from *arare*, it denotes ploughed fields – in this case fields that ought to be ploughed, but aren't.

57–8 For O.'s danger from enemies, cf. 1.2.13n. **dextra laeuaque a parte** ‘on the right and left side’ (*OLD ab* 23a); cf. *dextra laeuaque* (*Met.* 1.171), *a dextra laeuaque* (*Met.* 2.25, 7.499).

timendus: cf. 4.14.27 *incursus omni de parte timendos*.

uicinoque metu terret utrumque latus ‘and terrifies both quarters with imminent fear’, restating the hexameter with the emphatic addition of *uicinoque metu*. **uicino** ‘close at hand’ or ‘imminent’ in time (*OLD* 4). The latter meaning, earlier than the cited exx., is supported by the future participle *sensura* in 59. **latus** = *pars* ‘side’, indicating a direction or quarter; cf. *OLD latus* 8, *pars* 12.

59–60 Bistonias: 1.2.110n. **sensura** ‘about to feel’ (*OLD* 5a).

sarisas: *sarisa* = σάρισα, a long pike usually associated with Macedonia; cf. *Met.* 12.466 *Macedoniaque sarisa*. **Sarmatica:** 1.2.45n. **spicula:** cf. 1.2.16 *omnia uipereo spicula felle linunt*. The accumulation of s-sounds in both lines, deliberately harsh (see Wilkinson 1963: 13–15), onomatopoetically imitates the whizzing of arrows.

61–84 O. dismisses nine *exempla* of endurance in the face of exile, men of old ‘who bore their fate with a brave mind’ (62); presumably they were cited by Rufinus. Because their places of exile were far less harsh than his own, O. regards them as dissimilar examples not relevant to his case. With the exception of Patroclus (73–4) they are all stock *exempla* in the consolatory tradition that flourished in the century and a half after O.’s time, known to us in Seneca, Musonius Rufus, Plutarch and Favorinus. These authors may have drawn them from the same sources as did Rufinus and O. According to *Rhet. Her.* 3.9, mythical and historical *exempla* are most effectively placed near the end of a speech; O. concludes his *refutatio* with these. The first (Rutilius) receives two couplets, the next six one couplet each, the last two but one couplet between them.

61–2 *i nunc et...refer* = *Her.* 17.57–8 ‘go ahead and recite’; *i (nunc et)* + imperative is a favourite formula of O.’s, always ironic; cf. *OLD eo* 10b, McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.35–6. **casum** ‘misfortune’, ‘fate’, often used by O. of his exile; cf. 1.5.55, 1.6.2, *Tr.* 1.5.45, etc.

63–6 P. Rutilius Rufus (born c. 158 BCE), a student of Panaetius and adherent of Stoicism, was prosecuted for extortion (*repetundae*) in 92 – unjustly, according to tradition – after serving as legate in

Asia. He went into exile in Smyrna and refused to return when Sulla so requested, 'though at that time no one said no to Sulla', Sen. *Ep.* 24.4 *reditum suum Sullae negavit, cui nihil tunc negabatur*. He became a type of virtue, not least for welcoming his unjust exile: *Rutili innocentia ac uirtus lateret, nisi accepisset iniuriam: dum uiolatur, effulsit. numquid non sorti suae gratias egit et exilium suum complexus est?* (Sen. *Ep.* 79.14). Cf. Vell. 2.13.2, Val. Max. 6.4.4, Quint. 11.1.13; *NP* 12.794–5 (W. Kierdorf).

63–4 *magnanimi*: a heroic epithet; cf. Hom. *Il.* 4.467 μέγαθυμος, Virg. *G.* 4.476, *Aen.* 1.260, *Met.* 12.230, etc. The epithet also shows that Rutilius was regarded as embodying the precepts of his teacher Panaetius, who adapted Aristotle's μεγαλοψυχία 'greatness of soul' to Stoic ethics; cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.61–92, Dyck 1996: 183–5. **robur**: sc. *animi*. The laudatory language heightens the irony: in O.'s view Rutilius gets far more credit than he deserves. **non usi reditus condicione dati** 'who did not make use of the option to return that had been granted him'. **condicione**: *OLD* 5; legal vocabulary.

dati belongs in sense with *condicione* (enallage adjectivi); cf. 1.1.38n.

65–6 Smyrna: one of the *villes lumières* of Asia that Catullus longed to visit (46.6 *ad claras Asiae uolemus urbes*), in fact 'the most beautiful of all cities' according to Strabo 14.1.37 καὶ νῦν ἔστι καλλίστη τῶν πασῶν (Helzle). **uirum**: 1.1.34n. **minus nullo** = *magis ullo* (litotes).

67–8 The Cynic philosopher Diogenes, banished from his native Sinope, chose Athens as his place of exile. There is pointed irony in O.'s choice of this *exemplum*, for Sinope is on the Black Sea. When someone reproachfully reminded Diogenes that 'the Sinopians condemned you to exile from Pontus', he replied, 'and I condemned them to stay there – "at the uttermost breakers of the Inhospitable Sea"' (Plut. *De exil.*, *Mor.* 602a, quoting Eur. *IT* 253; cf. Diog. Laert. 6.49). The theme of *asperitas loci* is not unique to O. **doluit...** **procul esse**: on the ellipsis of *se*, cf. 1.1.51n. **sedes** 'dwelling-place' (*OLD* 4a). **Attica terra**: the apostrophe is metrically convenient; cf. *F.* 4.502 *sic uenit ad portus, Attica terra, tuos*, *Her.* 16.268 and Kenney *ad loc.*

69–70 Themistocles, son of Neocles, crushed the Persians at Salamis (480 BCE); when ostracized, he experienced at Argos the first of his several places of exile. Later, having taken refuge with the king of Persia, he reportedly admitted that exile improved his fortunes: ‘when maintained at the king’s expense, he is said to have remarked to his wife and children, “it would have been our undoing had we not been undone”’ (Plut. *De exil.*, *Mor.* 602a). The pentameter is a golden line; cf. 1.2.38n. **arma...contudit armis**: cf. *F.* 4.380 *contudit arma*, 6.361; for the polyptoton cf. Virg. *Aen.* 4.628–9 *litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas | imprecor, arma armis*; 11.293. **fugam**: 1.2.128n.

71–2 Aristides, Athenian statesman and political opponent of Themistocles, was ostracized in 484–3 BCE and went to Aegina, not Sparta; on geographical confusion in O., see Kenney on *Her.* 18.49–50, 21.81–2. **prior** ‘better’ (OLD 7); cf. *Am.* 2.10.6 *artibus in dubio est haec sit an illa prior*; *Tr.* 1.6.19, 4.4.6, *Hor. Ep.* 2.1.55.

73–4 As a boy, Patroclus killed Amphidamas’ son in a rage over a dice-game. His father Menoetius then brought him from his native Opus (in Phocis) to Phthia (in nearby Thessaly), where Peleus purified him (*F.* 2.39–40). Remaining there, Patroclus gained an inestimable benefit, the friendship of Peleus’ son Achilles. At *Il.* 23.83–92 Patroclus’ ghost tells the story, asking that his bones be laid with those of Achilles himself. With Patroclus O. shifts from historical to mythological *exempla*. **Thessalicamque...humum** = *Thessaliam*; cf. *Her.* 4.68 *Cnosia...humus*, *F.* 2.444, 1.2.88n. **adiūt**: a metrically convenient revival of the original vowel quantity; cf. 1.4.46, Platnauer 1951: 60–1.

75–6 Jason fled from Thessaly to Corinth after Medea tricked the daughters of Thessaly’s king Pelias into trying to kill him (*Met.* 7.297–397). Jason appears with Tydeus (cf. 79) also in Carmentis’ consolatory speech, *F.* 1.491 *passus idem Tydeus et idem Pagasaeus Iason* (see headnote). **Pirenida...ad undam** ‘to the spring of Pirene’, for which Corinth was renowned; cf. *Met.* 2.240 *Pirenidas undas*, 7.391. On the Greek adjective cf. 1.2.112, Kenney 1996: 250–1. **trabs...sacra**: the Argo; *trabs* (‘beam’) = ‘ship’ by

synecdoche (OLD 4); *sacra* because built with Athena's aid; cf. *Tr.* 3.9.7–8 *quae cura pugnacis facta Mineruae | per non temptatas prima cucurrit aquas*. **Colcha...cucurrit aqua** 'sped on the waters of Colchis', i.e. the Phasis; cf. OLD *curro* 3a, *Her.* 18.6.

77–8 In the *Met.*, Cadmus' father Agenor orders him to search for his sister Europa, threatening him with exile if he fails: *et poenam, si non inuenerit addit | exilium* (*Met.* 3.4–5). Failing to find her, Cadmus consults Apollo's oracle at Delphi and is sent off to found Thebes (*Met.* 3.6–13). Here O. simplifies the story for the present context: Cadmus leaves his native Sidon already intending to found a city 'in a better place'. He also appears as an exile in Carmentis' speech, *F.* 1.490 *passus idem est, Tyriis qui quondam pulsus ab oris | Cadmus in Aonia constitit exul humo*. **Sidonia**: the *o* is long also at *Met.* 3.129, otherwise short in O.; cf. *Tr.* 4.2.27, 4.3.2, *Ibis* 446, etc. **poneret** 'establish', 'found' (OLD 3).

79–80 Tydeus, banished from his native Calydon for homicide, took refuge with Adrastus in Argos, where he married Adrastus' daughter Deipyle and became the father of Diomedes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 1.8.5). Teucer, whose father Telamon banished him from Salamis because he had returned from Troy without his half-brother Ajax, founded a new Salamis in Cyprus. Cic. *Tusc.* 5.108 cites him as a consolatory *exemplum*, quoting Pacuvius' *Teucer: ad omnem rationem Teucris uox accommodari potest, 'patria est, ubicumque est bene'* (ROL II 380); cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.25 and Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.* The appeal of his new home, especially favoured by Venus, offers an ironic perspective on Teucer's reputation for enduring the deprivations of exile. **Veneri grata...humus**: cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.20.1–2 *O Venus regina Cnidi Paphique, | sperne dilectam Cypron; on humus* cf. 74.

81–2 *quid referam*: for the figure of παράλειψις 'passing over', cf. *Tr.* 2.61, 433 (with *apud quos* in the same *sedes*), 4.10.101, McKeown on *Am.* 1.5.23, etc. It would be customary to follow the list of Greek *exempla* with Roman; cf. *Tr.* 2.363–470, *Am.* 1.15.9–30, *A.* 3.329–48, *Rem.* 759–66. **ueteres**: substantive, as often (L–S II A); cf. 61 *ueterum...exempla uirorum*. **tellus ultima Tibur erat** recalls the voluntary withdrawal of the *tibicines* to Tibur in 311 BCE;

cf. *F.* 6.665–6 *exilio mutant urbem Tiburque recedunt.* | *exilium quodam tempore Tibur erat!* Tibur, about seventeen miles from Rome at the foot of the Apennines, renowned for its beauty, was in fact a common place of exile in early Roman times; cf. Polyb. 6.14.8, Livy 3.58.10, 43.2.10, V. Max. 5.1.1 (Gaertner). One thinks of Evander in the *Fasti*, exiled to the site of Rome: *felix, exilium cui locus ille fuit* (*F.* 1.540). **ultima**: not literally true, for Livy mentions more distant places of exile: Suessa Pometia (1.41.7), Lavinium (2.2.10), Tarquinii (26.3.12) (Scholte).

83–4 *persequar* ‘enumerate’ (*OLD* 8); cf. 1.8.3, *Tr.* 2.407, *Met.* 12.590 *ne persequar omnes*. **ut**: concessive. **nulli**: 56n.

omnibus aeuis ‘in all ages’ (*OLD* 3); cf. *Met.* 2.649–50 and Bömer *ad loc.* **horridiorue locus**: tragic diction; cf. Pac. *Trag.* 1b, *ROL* II 3 *horrida loca initas*. With the comparative adjective O. inverts a convention of consolatory rhetoric, by which one is asked to consider that one's fate could be worse than it is; see Helzle *ad loc.*

85–94 His *refutatio* complete, O. apologizes for failing to benefit from Rufinus’ precepts and thanks him. A return to medical metaphors helps to maintain a genial and conciliatory tone: ‘I am better known to myself than to the doctor’ (92) gently makes the point that Rufinus does not understand O.’s case well enough to be helpful.

85–6 ‘So all the more let your wisdom forgive one who is in pain for the fact that he does not achieve (*OLD facio* 25a) all that much as a result of your sayings.’ **sapientia uestra**: cf. 1.2.66n. *gratia... uestra*; here also *uestra* refers to the addressee and his friends, relatives, etc. **quod...tuis**: the clause functions as the object of *ignoscat* (*OLD ignosco* 1d). **ex**: *OLD* 20. **non ita multa** ‘not so very much’ (*OLD ita* 13b) = ‘rather little’ (litotes); cf. 3.2.46 *qui Getica longe non ita distat humo*.

87–8 *coire* ‘to close up’, ‘to mend’ (*OLD* 5a); cf. 1.6.24, *Tr.* 4.4.41–2 *nondum coeuntia...uulnera*, Prop. 3.24.18. **uulnera**, the nominative subject of *possint*, also serves ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as the acc. subject of *posse*.

90 *nec iuuor*: so Richmond emends *iuuer* (nearly all MSS), making the verb parallel to *uereor* (89), not subordinate to it. Those who accept *nec iuuor* strain the syntax too forcibly, denying *nec* its expected function (to begin a new negative clause) and supposing that *ne* in 89 applies to this clause also, as if (*ne*) *nec iuuor* = *et ne non iuuor*. **perditus aeger** ‘desperate invalid that I am’; *aeger* functions as a noun (*OLD aeger*²); cf. 2.2.45 *frigidus aeger*, 3.4.8 *dubius...aeger*.

91–2 *nec...quia sit...sed sum*: a rejected reason is introduced by *non quia* (or *quod*) + subjunctive, and *sed* (*quia* or *quod*) + indicative marks the corresponding affirmative; G–L 541n.2, K–S || 385–6. **prudencia**: cf. 33.

93–4 *ut...hoc ita sit* ‘though this is the case’, ‘though things are as they are’. **ut**: concessive. **uoluntas** ‘good will’ (*OLD* 8b). **consulitur-que boni** ‘and I take it in good part’ (*OLD consulo* 5); the genitive is classified by H–S 71–2 as adverbial, stemming from the genitive of value or quality. Cf. 3.8.24 *tu tamen haec, quaeso, consule missa boni*, *Tr.* 4.1.106 (both final lines).

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.4**

In the preceding three poems we learned the addressee's name immediately, but unless a headnote *VXORI* originally stood in O.'s autograph, nothing indicates that O. is addressing his wife until we arrive at the concluding section (45–58); cf. 1.9, in which *Maxime* (16) is delayed, though not nearly so long. We encountered her in 1.2.136–50 as a companion of Maximus' wife Marcia and therefore well placed to appeal for aid from a powerful family in O.'s behalf. She is the addressee of epistolary poems in the *Tristia* (1.6, 3.3, 4.3, 5.5, 11, 14) and *Ex Ponto* (3.1), which both praise and demand her loyalty. The specific application of this letter to her, however, is withheld until the end. Consequently it begins like many letters in the *Tristia*, whose addressees are not identified, but which are offered in a published collection to all readers, who may if they choose see themselves or anyone at all in the epistolary second person. This letter falls into three parts. The topic of the first section (1–22) is the

debilitating effects of age, made premature and more grievous by exile. This section is modelled on the first half (1–28) of *Tr.* 4.8, a non-epistolary poem on the same theme and with a similar catalogue of *exempla* (17–24; cf. 11–18 below).

There follows a remarkable comparison between O.'s own troubles and those of Jason, leader of the Argonauts' expedition to the Black Sea (23–44). In 1.3.75–6 we encountered Jason, who, withdrawing from Thessaly to Corinth, enjoyed a relatively agreeable place of exile. Now O. treats Jason's journey to the Black Sea in quest of the fleece, undertaking an extended *comparatio* (σύγκρισις) to show that the hero's ordeals and achievements caused him far less suffering than O. himself has had to endure in exile. This passage recalls *Tr.* 1.5.57–84, in which O. proposes his own sufferings as a better topic for learned poets than those of Ulysses, because his own are more severe; cf. also *Tr.* 3.11.61–2. He returns to this theme in *Ex P.* 4.10.9–34. Ulysses is indeed 'the *exemplum* of an exceedingly enduring spirit', *Ex P.* 4.10.9 *exemplum est animi nimium patientis Vlixes*; but there may be some irony in the choice of Jason for a similar part here. In Apollonius he achieves his successes with little grief or trouble, but by O.'s account Jason has become an object of praise (23–4) and has acquired a less than deserved reputation for *labor* (25–6). One wonders how Varro Atacinus (b. 82 BCE) portrayed the hero; his version was well known to O.'s contemporaries. There are certainly ironic undertones for readers of this *comparatio* who remember Jason in *Met.* 7, 'who does no more than go through the motions of heroic prowess' while Medea 'pulls the strings offstage' (Kenney 2001: 263) and in *Met.* 8, where his contribution to the Calydonian boar-hunt is only to spear an undeserving hound by accident (*Met.* 8.411–13). Ovidian wit is noticeable in this *comparatio* as in *Tr.* 1.5, for the comparison of hero to poet, matching ostensibly great things with small, is likely to strike the reader as at least partly comic.

With not only Jason but Ulysses in mind, O. concludes the poem by describing to his wife an imaginary reunion with her on the model of Ulysses and Penelope (45–58). He returns to the theme of the

opening section, recognizing that his misfortunes may have caused his wife to grow old before her time, just as he has done.

1–3 *iam...iamque...iam*: the threefold anaphora of *iam*, reinforcing the theme of premature old age, recalls the opening of *Tr.* 4.8 (1–4) *iam mea cycneas imitantur tempora plumas, | inficit et nigras alba senecta comas. | iam subeunt anni fragiles et inertior aetas, | iamque parum firmo me mihi ferre graue est*; cf. Wills 1996: 400–5; *Tr.* 4.10.93–4 *iam mihi canities pulsus melioribus annis | uenerat, antiquas miscueratque comas*.

1–2 *deterior canis aspergitur aetas* ‘the worse period of my life is sprinkled with white hairs’, a compressed expression for ‘the worse period of my life has arrived in which my head is sprinkled with white hairs’. **deterior**: cf. *Tr.* 4.8.34 *parte premor uitae deteriore meae*.

canis: sc. *capillis*. The idiomatic ellipsis of ‘hairs’ is common in both prose and poetry; cf. *OLD cani*, Greek πολιαί (sc. τρίχες) (LSJ πολιός 2). **ruga senilis**: singular for plural; cf. *Tr.* 3.7.34 *rugae in antiqua fronte senilis erit*, *F.* 5.58, *A. A.* 1.240. **arat**: for the metaphor, cf. *A. A.* 2.118 *iam uenient rugae, quae tibi corpus arent*, *Met.* 14.96, *Med.* 46; similarly *Met.* 3.276 *sulcauitque cutem rugis*.

3–4 *uigor et...uires* are joined also at *Met.* 3.492 *nec uigor et uires*, *Virg. Aen.* 9.611. **quasso** ‘battered’ from being shaken or knocked about, often of a damaged ship; cf. *Ex P.* 2.3.58; *Tr.* 4.8.17, 5.10.13. **iuueni...iuuant**: these words were thought to be linked etymologically; cf. *Cens.* 14.2 *iuuenis appellatos, eo quod rem publicam in re militari possent iuuare*, Maltby 1991 s.v. *iuuenis*.

lusus is ambiguous; O.’s wife and his wider readership need not interpret the term in the same way. The context suggests physical games; it also recalls *Am.* 2.3.13 *sunt apti lusibus anni* ‘your age is suited to amorous sport’. The term extends to ‘jokes’, ‘trifles’ (cf. *Ex P.* 1.9.9, *Tr.* 2.223) and amatory poetry; cf. *A. A.* 3.809 *lusus habet finem*. O. twice identifies his earlier self as *tenerorum lusor amorum* (*Tr.* 3.3.73, 4.10.1).

5–6 *subito* ‘unexpectedly’ (*OLD* 1). **uideas...possis**: the second-person verbs remind the reader that there is in fact a specific addressee, as yet unspecified (not the generalizing second-person

subjunctive). **agnoscere**: cf. 1.10.25 *uix igitur possis uisos agnoscere uultus*. **aetatis...tanta ruina meae** 'so great a collapse of my life'. O. uses *ruina* of falling buildings and shipwreck; both metaphors are favourites of his; cf. 1.9.13–14, 2.3.60, *Tr.* 3.5.5, 5.14.23, etc.

8 O.'s compact four-word pentameters have a weighty effect despite the dactylic character of the line, underscoring the sense; see Helzle *ad loc.* **anxietas animi**: cf. 1.10.36 *anxietas animi, quae mihi semper adest*. **labor** 'suffering', as often (*OLD* 6a); cf. 11–18n.

9–10 *nam mea per longos si quis mala digerat annos* 'for if someone were to distribute my misfortunes through the long years', i.e. assign to each year its own misfortune; cf. *F.* 1.1 *tempora... Latium digesta per annum*, *Met.* 12.21. The condition is of the 'sit... erit' type; cf. 1.1.80n. On the postponement of *si*, cf. 1.1.40n.

crede mihi: very common in O.; cf. McKeown on *Am.* 1.8.62.

Nestore maior: sc. *natu* (*OLD* 3a) 'older than Nestor', king of Pylos, proverbial for longevity since Hom. *Il.* 1.250–1; cf. *Ex. P.* 2.8.41, *Tr.* 5.5.62, *Met.* 12.187–8, *Prop.* 2.25.10, Otto 1223.

11–18 Four *exempla* on the debilitating effects of *labor*. At 8 O. applies *labor* to his own condition in the extended sense of 'suffering', but the *exempla* illustrate the primary sense of 'work': the various meanings are not separate alternatives, but a semantic continuum, which the poet can draw upon for his own purposes in a manner similar to wordplay. This catalogue of *exempla* is modelled on *Tr.* 4.8.17–24 (ships, racehorse, soldier), 5.12.23–30 (field, racehorse, ship), and *Am.* 2.9.19–24 (soldier, racehorse, ship, sword). As in the passages in the *Tristia*, each *exemplum* receives its own couplet. Behind them all lies *Prop.* 2.25.5–10 (soldier, oxen, ship, shield), which is also in O.'s mind here (as is shown by each poet's comparison of himself to Nestor; cf. 10n.). 15–18 are wrongly suspected by Gaertner; both the style and the choice of *exempla* are Ovidian.

11–12 *cernis ut*: 1.3.19n. **duris...aruis**: cf. *Met.* 11.33 *dura... arua*, 15.125; *Virg. G.* 2.341. **et** signals the parenthesis, like *-que*

and *atque* (K–S || 26); cf. 3.5.46, *Tr.* 2.331, *Ibis* 7. **fortia taurorum corpora**: cf. *Met.* 9.46 *fortes...tauros*, *Virg. G.* 1.65, etc.

13–14 *quae numquam...solita est cessare...humus* ‘soil which has never been accustomed to lie idle’. **uacuo...nouali**: possibly dative of purpose (cf. G–L 356), but more likely ablative of attendant circumstance, ‘when the fallow field stands empty’. For a contrasting metaphor, cf. *Tr.* 5.12.23–4 *fertilis, assiduo si non renouatur aratro, | nil nisi cum spinis gramen habebit ager*. **cessare**: cf. *Tr.* 3.10.70 *cessat iners rigido terra relictā situ*. **fructibus assiduīs lassa senescit** ‘weary with constant production, loses fertility’; the ablative is causal. For the personification cf. *A. A.* 3.82 *continua messe senescit ager*, *Lucr.* 2.74 *illa senescere at haec contra florescere cogunt*, 2.1105–74 on the senescence of the world.

15–16 The picture of a racehorse broken by overwork recalls *Tr.* 4.8.19–20 and *Am.* 2.9.20, in which retirement saves the horse from this fate. This *exemplum* of a horse debilitated before its time is to be distinguished from the traditional image of the aging horse (*Ibycus* 287.6 Page; Ennius, *Ann.* 522–3 Skutsch; *Hor. Ep.* 1.1.8–9; *Tib.* 1.4.31). **occidet** ‘will fall’; cf. *Tr.* 4.8.19 *ne cadat*; ‘will die’, the commoner meaning, is also possible here (*OLD* 2a). **circi... certamina**: cf. *A. A.* 1.135 *certamen equorum*, 629 *certamina cursus*, etc.

17–18 Ships were stored in dry dock when not in use; cf. *Tr.* 4.8.17–18 *in caua ducuntur quassae naualia puppes, | ne temere in mediis dissoluantur aquis*; *Am.* 2.9.21 and McKeown *ad loc.* For a contrasting *exemplum*, cf. *Tr.* 5.12.27–8. **illa** anticipates *navis*. Pace Gaertner, its use here is unobjectionable, differing but little from its resumptive use; cf. *A. A.* 3.105–6 *facies neglecta peribit, | Idaliae similis sit licet illa deae*. **licet**: 1.2.35n. **soluetur** = *dissoluetur* ‘will break up’ (*OLD* *soluo* 11a); cf. *Tr.* 1.2.2 *soluere quassatae parcite membra ratis*, *Met.* 11.664. **liquidis**: a purely ornamental epithet, as often; cf. *Ex P.* 2.3.40, 2.10.46, *Ibis* 474 (all in the same *sedes*), etc. **sicca carebit**: Such duplication of syllables was regarded as *cacemphaton* ‘ill-sounding’ by Servius on *Virg. Aen.* 2.27 *Dorica castra* (= 6.88, *Her.* 16.372), ‘probably repeating some

dogma of the schools' (Austin on *Aen.* 2.27). It is common in O. as in other poets; see McKeown on *Am.* 2.2.51–2.

19–20 *me quoque* marks the close of the list of *exempla* and points up their application, as in the three lists that are most closely parallel to this one; cf. *Tr.* 4.8.24, 5.12.29, *Am.* 2.9.23. **series immensa malorum** recalls *Her.* 9.5 *series immensa laborum* (of Hercules' labours) and *Met.* 4.564–5 *luctu serieque malorum | uictus* (of Cadmus, driven from his city); cf. *Ex P.* 2.7.45 *pectora...mea sunt serie calcata malorum*. **et** is remarkably postponed to fifth position in its clause, yet with no impediment to reading; see Platnauer 1951: 94. As often, it directly follows the verb; cf. 1.9.53, 4.15.39, etc. At 4.9.103 *et* takes third position; on the postponement of other conjunctions, cf. 1.1.40n.

21–2 The value of *otium* for poetic creation is a note sounded early in the *Tristia* (1.1.41–2): *carmina secessum scribentis et otia quaerunt; | me mare, me uenti, me fera iactat hiems*. Here O. takes a larger view of its benefits in the tradition of Horace; cf. *Carm.* 2.16 (and the headnote of Nisbet–Hubbard), *Ep.* 1.7.35–6. **otia corpus alunt**: for a contrasting view, cf. 1.5.5 *cernis ut ignauum corrumpant otia corpus*. **animus quoque pascitur illis**: for the metaphor, cf. *Virg. Aen.* 1.464 *animum pictura pascit inani*, *G.* 2.285. **contra** 'by contrast' (OLD 8b). **carpit** 'eats away'; 1.1.72n. **labor**: 8n.

23–44 *Comparatio*: Jason's troubles and dangers on his journey to the Black Sea are far less severe than those that O. must endure.

23–4 *aspice* commonly directs the reader's attention to a comparison or *exemplum*; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.2.51, Gibson on *A. A.* 3.115. **quod uenerit** 'because he came'. This subordinate clause is grammatically dependent on the indirect question that follows; see Kenney on *Her.* 17.9–10. **Aesone natus** identifies Jason also at 46; cf. *Aesoniden* (36). The two expressions occur in close proximity also at *Met.* 7.77, 84. **laudem a**: for the elision, cf. *Met.* 3.467 *o utinam a*, 12.336 *et missum a*, *F.* 6.279 *et quantum a*.

posteritate: introduced into poetry by Prop. 3.1.34. O. uses the word 9× (2× *Tr.*, 4× *Ex P.*), 6× in the genitive or ablative in this *sedes*; cf. 4.8.48 *notitiam serae posteritatis*, Kenney 2002: 37.

ferat 'wins' (*OLD* 36a); the metaphor is of carrying off a prize; cf. *Her.* 16.376 *nomen ab aeterna posteritate feres*, *Virg. Aen.* 4.93 *laudem et spolia ampla refertis*.

25–6 labor links the *comparatio* to the preceding section (8, 22).

illius: the genitive is generally avoided in poetry, whereas the nominative is very common (Axelson 1945: 72–3); cf. 1.2.100n. **si modo** 'if only' (*OLD* *si* 8a), very common in O.; see Bömer on *Met.* 1.760. **uerum** 'the truth' (*OLD* 7a). **nomina magna**: a very general expression, apparently referring to Jason himself or to the poets who promote his fame and reputation; cf. 1.1.25n. **premunt** 'suppress', 'overwhelm' (*OLD* 17).

27–8 Pelia mittente: Jason was sent to Colchis 'at the behest of King Pelias', *Ap. Rhod.* 1.3 βασιλῆος ἐφημοσύνηι Πελῖαιο, *Enn. Med.* fr. 214 Jocelyn (*ROL* | *trag.* 259) *imperio regis Peliae*. Pelias, king of Iolcos in Thessaly, consulting an oracle about the fate of his kingdom, was told to beware a man with only one sandal. When Jason arrived at a sacrifice having lost one of his sandals, Pelias recalled the oracle and tried to rid himself of the threat by contriving the quest, believing that it would prove fatal to Jason (*Ap. Rhod.* 1.5–17, *Apollod.* 1.9.16). **Thessaliae fine** 'within the bounds of Thessaly', a quasi-prepositional use of *finis* in the ablative (*OLD* 3a); cf. *Met.* 10.536, *Hal.* 102, *Lucr.* 4.627. **timendus**: O. contrasts the narrow bounds of Pelias' authority with the vast extent of Caesar's in terms of the fear that each ruler arouses.

29–30 Caesaris ira: very frequently mentioned in the exilic poetry; cf. 1.1.49n. **solis ab ortu | solis ad occasus**: the parallel prepositional phrases and repetition of *solis* reinforce the sense of space and distance; cf. *Met.* 5.444–5 *natam | solis ab occasu solis quaerebat ad ortus*, 14.386. **utraque terra**: i.e. both east and west; cf. *Her.* 9.16 *solis utramque domum*, *Met.* 1.336 *litora...utroque iacentia Phoebo*.

31–2 iunctior 'closer'. Among the poets, only O. uses the comparative and superlative forms of *iunctus*; cf. 4.5.10, *Tr.* 3.6.4, *Met.* 5.60, 9.594, 10.70. **Ponto...Sinistro** 'ill-omened Pontus' (*OLD* *sinister* 4b) always in O., not merely 'western Pontus' (2a); cf.

3.8.17, *Tr.* 1.8.39; for similar expressions see Owen on *Tr.* 2.197 *Euxini...sinistri*. **peregit**: *nos* functions ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as subject as well as *ille*; *peragere* often has *iter* as its object (*OLD* *perago* 4b); cf. 1.10.6, 4.10.54, *Tr.* 4.7.2, 5.10.6, etc. **peregit iter**: for the duplication of syllables, cf. 18n.

33–4 recall *Tr.* 1.5.63–4 (of Ulysses) *ille habuit lectamque manum sociosque fideles*: | *me profugum comites deseruere mei*. **habuit comites primos** ‘had as companions the chiefs’; *habere* often takes a predicate noun, as here (*OLD* 5a); cf. *Met.* 3.129, 8.48. **primos**: substantive (*OLD* 14b). Cf. Catul. 64.4 *lecti iuuenes, Argiuae robora pubis*; Virg. *Ecl.* 4.34–5 *quae uehat Argo | delectos heroas*; Eur. *Med.* 5 ἀνδρῶν ἀρίστων. **cuncti** is an instance of hyperbole to judge by other poems in which praiseworthy exceptions receive mention; cf. 1.9.15 (of Celsus) *adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit*, 2.3.29–30, 2.7.81–2, 4.6.41–2, etc.; see Scholte *ad loc.* **nostram...fugam** ‘me in my exile’; cf. 1.2.70n.

35–6 *fragili ligno*: *lignum* = ‘boat’ first here; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 1.3.10–11 *fragilem truci | conmisit pelago ratem*, 3.28–9 *fragilemque...phaselon*. **uastum sulcauimus aequor** recalls Virg. *Aen.* 2.780 (the shade of Creusa to Aeneas) *longa tibi exsilia et uastum maris aequor arandum*; for the metaphor cf. *OLD* *sulco* 1b, *Ex P.* 2.10.33, *Met.* 4.707, Virg. *Aen.* 5.158, 10.197 and the similar use of *arare* (*OLD* 3c). **Aesoniden**: the patronymic Αἰσονίδης (Ap. Rhod. 1.33, 46, etc.) is first attested in Latin at Prop. 1.15.17; 11× in O.; cf. 23, 46 *Aesone natus*. **densa** is a reading entered by J. J. Scaliger in his copy of S. Gryphius’ edition (Lyons, 1546); see Reeve 1974: 163–4 (for Scaliger’s annotations, named *Excerpta Scaligeri* by Heinsius, see Ehwald 1896: 31–9; Reeve 1974, 1976). Scaliger may have known the ninth-century codex A or a related MS, for, as Ehwald argues, *Aesoniden densa* lies behind A’s reading *Aesoni densa*, which was produced by haplography (Ehwald 1896: 26). *densa carina* ‘a solid ship’ provides an explicit contrast to *fragili ligno* (35). The adjective *densus*, like Greek πυκνός, is applied to solidly built structures; cf. Luc. 3.491 *densi compagem...muri*, Hom. *Il.* 10.267, 12.301 πυκινὸν δόμον, ‘a firmly constructed dwelling’. O.’s expression may be meant to translate Ap. Rhod. 1.4 ἐύζυγον...

Ἀργώ, 'the well-joined Argo'; see Ehwald 1896: 26. *sacra* (B, C) is probably a medieval conjecture – a shrewd one, for the Argo was built 'by the diligence of warlike Minerva', *Tr.* 3.9.7 *cura pugnacis facta Mineruae* and protected by her; cf. *Ex P.* 1.3.76n. But the age and authority of A stand behind *densa*; see Tarrant 1983: 263–4 and n.5.

37–8 Tiphys: helmsman of the Argo, regularly cited as the skilled helmsman *par excellence* (*Tr.* 4.3.77, *A. A.* 1.6). **Agenore natus**: the blind seer Phineus, son of Agenor, revealed to the Argonauts the course of their voyage and taught them how to avoid the Clashing Rocks (Ap. Rhod. 2.311–407, Apollod. 1.9.22). **quas fugerem docuit quas sequererque uias** 'taught me which courses to avoid and which to follow'. *fugerem* and *sequerer* are deliberative subjunctives in indirect questions. For the antithesis of *fugere* and *sequi*, cf. *Rem.* 795–6 *cibos...quos fugias quosque sequere, dabo*; *Am.* 2.19.36, etc. **quas sequererque**: *-que* is postponed to accommodate the metre; cf. 54n., 1.6.42. For the postponement of *-que* to follow a trisyllabic verb in this *sedes*, see Platnauer 1951: 91, Kenney on *Her.* 18.94.

39–40 *tutata est* 'kept safe'; O. uses *tutari* only in the exilic poetry and *Ibis*; cf. 2.4.33, *Tr.* 4.5.21, 5.6.15, *Ibis* 333. **cum Pallade regia Iuno**: in Ap. Rhod. 2.598–603 Athena enables the Argo to pass the Clashing Rocks safely, whereas in 4.783–8 Hera asserts that she rescued the Argonauts from the same danger (for Apollonius' treatment of such inconsistencies in the mythographic tradition, see Hunter 1989: 21, Kenney 2001: 273, O'Hara 2007: 30–2). In an effort to help Jason, both goddesses join to ensure that Eros inflame Medea with love for him (3.7–112) – an incident that links this couplet to the following. *cum* + ablative for *et* is often metrically convenient; cf. 55–6, *Her.* 16.65 *Venus et cum Pallade Iuno. regia Iuno* transforms Hera into a specifically Roman supreme goddess, perhaps with a touch of irony in the light of the following verse, for no divine consort has assisted O.; cf. *Met.* 6.94, 9.21, 14.829, Virg. *Aen.* 1.443, etc., all in this *sedes*. **meum...caput** 'me'; 1.2.53n.

41–2 *furtivae...Cupidinis artes*: 'the stealthy arts of Cupid' assisted Jason by causing Medea's passion for him, Ap. Rhod.

3.275–98. **quas a me uellem non didicisset Amor** ‘and would that Amor had not learned them from me’, i.e. from O. as *praeceptor Amoris* – a ruefully humorous conceit. Cf. 3.3.23–4 *o puer, exilii decepto causa magistro, | quem fuit utilius non docuisse mihi*, A. A. 1.7 *me Venus artificem tenero praefecit Amori*. **uellem** introduces an unfulfilled wish (OLD 11b). **non** for *ne* strengthens the negation; cf. 1.2.106n.

43–4 These lines, bringing the *comparatio* to its climax, allude to the conclusion of O.’s comparison of himself to Ulysses in *Tr.* 1.5. Here a single couplet suffices; there two made the point: *denique quaesitos tetigit tandem ille Penates, | quaeque diu petiit, contigit arua tamen: | at mihi perpetuo patria tellure carendum est, | ni fuerit laesi mollior ira dei* (81–4). **nos his moriemur in aruis**: O. already mentioned to his wife his fear that he would die in exile at *Tr.* 3.3.37 *ignotis igitur moriemur in oris*; cf. *Tr.* 5.7.23–4, *Ex P.* 1.2.58n. **perstiterit**: uncommon before O., *perstare* is a favourite verb of his (26×); cf. 4.6.7 *perstat enim fortuna tenax*, etc.

45–58 Now that the language used of Jason’s return has brought that of Ulysses to our minds, O. concludes the poem with a fantasy about his reunion with his wife, who is now revealed to be the addressee of the poem. O. transfers to himself some of Penelope’s actions after recognizing Odysseus: δακρύσασα...ἀμφὶ δὲ χεῖρας | δειρῇ βάλλ’ Ὀδυσῆϊ, κάρη δ’ ἔκυσ’ ἠδὲ προσηύδα ‘weeping,...she threw her arms around Odysseus’ neck, kissed his head, and addressed him’ (Hom. *Od.* 23.207–8). O.’s language also recalls Prop. 2.18.7–18, in which the goddess Aurora receives praise for being content with her aged husband Tithonus.

45–6 *durius est...opus*: the hyperbaton offers no impediment to the reader, in fact contributing a periodic structure of perfect clarity that embraces the whole couplet; see **introduction**. **subiit**: 1.3.74n. **opus** ‘task’, ‘work’ (OLD 1b, 5a). ‘The variant *onus* (*m*, favoured by Helzle) may be more natural with *subire*, but would be less appropriate to *durius*’ (Gaertner); and *opus* makes a better match with *labor* (25) than does *onus*.

47–8 O. muses that his wife may have aged prematurely as a result of his misfortunes, just as he has done – a return to the opening theme of the poem (1–22). His words recall Penelope's reflection that she will seem old to Ulysses, even though he should return right away, *Her.* 1.115–16 *certe ego, quae fueram te discedente puella, | protinus ut redeas, facta uidebor anus*; see Knox *ad loc.* **iuuenem** is used of a young woman also at *A. A.* 1.63; cf. *OLD* 2. **Vrbe**: ablative of separation without *ab*, a poetical usage; cf. *Tr.* 1.3.5–6 *discedere...finibus...Ausoniae*. **credibile est** + accusative and infinitive is a favourite construction of O.'s (15×), introduced by him into poetry (not in *Met.*). The word *credibilis* itself (19× in O.), rare in poetry before O. (*Hor. S.* 1.9.52), common in prose, illustrates the fact that O. 'did not go out of his way to avoid words avoided by other poets if they expressed his meaning precisely' (Kenney 2002: 36n.57); see Gaertner 2005: 26–7. **nostris...malis**: causal ablative ('because of my misfortunes') or dative with the compound verb *insenuisse* ('among my misfortunes', i.e. by participating in them; cf. *OLD*).

49–50 o ego: hiatus after interjections is common; see Platnauer 1951: 57. For o ego in this *sedes*, cf. *Her.* 6.15, *Met.* 2.520, *Hor. Epod.* 12.25, *Tib.* 2.3.5, 2.4.7. **di faciant**: 1.2.97n. **cara** 'dear' in the sense of 'valued', 'cherished' (*OLD* 3a). **mutatis** 'changed' in colour (*OLD* 11). **oscula ferre** 'kiss', a common idiom (*OLD* *osculum* 1). This couplet recalls *Prop.* 2.18.17–18 (of Aurora and Tithonus) *cum sene non puduit talem dormire puellam | et canae totiens oscula ferre comae*.

51–2 gracile 'skinny', 'thin' (*OLD* 1a). **cura mei** 'concern for me'; *mei* is objective genitive (G–L 364n.2). Here O. acknowledges the *cura mei* expected of his wife at *Tr.* 5.2.34 and *Ex P.* 3.1.48; cf. also *Ex P.* 2.7.4, 2.10.8. The wasting effect of anxiety on her body corresponds to the harm that *anxietas animi continuusque labor* (8) have wrought upon O. himself.

53 narrare meos...labores: just as Odysseus recounts his sufferings to Penelope, *Od.* 23.306–43. **flenti flens**: the polyptoton recalls *Tr.* 1.3.17 (of O.'s departure from Rome) *uxor amans flentem*

flens acrius ipsa tenebat; cf. *Met.* 14.305 *flentem flentes amplectimur*.

54 i.e. *colloquioque numquam sperato frui*. The hyperbaton is characteristic; cf. 1.1.80n. For the postponement of *-que* (cf. 38n.) to follow a quadri-syllable in this *sedes*, cf. 1.6.42, 1.8.56, Kenney on *Her.* 16.216.

55–6 ‘and with a grateful hand to bring incense due to the Caesars and a wife worthy of Caesar, true gods’, i.e. to Augustus, Tiberius and Livia. The reference is to private worship of the imperial family; cf. *Ex P.* 2.8, in which O. receives from Cotta Maximus statuettes or a relief depicting the same three, *Caesaribus Livia iuncta suis* (4), 3.1.161–4, *Tr.* 2.103–4 *proque | Caesare tura pius Caesaribusque dedi*. On emperor-worship in O. see Gaertner 2005: 12–14. **cum coniuge Caesare digna**: *cum coniuge* is a metrically convenient – and syntactically daring – stand-in for *et coniugi*; O. does not imagine himself and Livia offering incense together. The ablative of accompaniment with *cum* normally denotes a person or thing in association with whom, or with which, the subject performs the action (see *NLS* §43.5.i), as at 39 *illum tutata est cum Pallade regia Iuno*; *cum Pallade regia Iuno* is metrically convenient for *regia Iuno et Pallas*. When *cum* has a thing as its object, the phrase, in most cases, is likewise to be taken closely with the subject’s performance of the action, e.g. *Met.* 8.778–9 *Cererem cum uestibus atris | maerentes adeunt*, *Cic. Cat.* 1.15 *te...stetisse in comitio cum telo*. The phrase may, however, join one noun to another without reference to the subject and verb, as at *Cic. Fam.* 1.9.21 *cum dignitate otium*, ‘peace with honour’. Many such cases are regarded as adnominal uses of the prepositional phrase, which functions as an adjective, e.g. *Cic. Off.* 1.40 *interitus cum scelere*, ‘treacherous murder’ (see K–S I 215). O.’s usage here is a bold and apparently unparalleled extension of the regular uses of the ablative of accompaniment: *cum* has a person as its object, yet the prepositional phrase is disjoined from the subject and verb in the manner of Cicero’s *cum dignitate otium*. By placing the prepositional phrase between *Caesaribus* and *dis ueris*, nouns in apposition, O. encloses it within a unit of sense, guiding the reader to take it closely

with *Caesaribus* and not (as would be normal) with *ferre*. As R. S. Conway remarks, O. is 'a chartered libertine in Grammar' (Conway 1900: 358). For the alliteration of c, cf. 1.3.55n. **memori...manu**: 1.2.126n. **debita** 'owed' as a result of a vow; cf. *F.* 4.898 *redduntur merito debita uina loui*.

57–8 Memnonis...mater: Aurora, goddess of the dawn, who can be expected to look with favour on the reunion of an old husband and younger wife; cf. 49–50n. O. may be thinking of Prop. 2.8.15–16 (of Aurora) *cui maiora senis Tithoni gaudia uiui | quam grauis amisso Memnone luctus erat*. Her son Memnon, chief hero of the Trojans after the deaths of first Hector and then Penthesilea, was killed by Achilles; cf. *Met.* 13.576–622. **hanc...diem**: for the feminine gender cf. 1.2.4n., *Ex P.* 2.2.89 *hanc...diem*, *F.* 4.673. **lenito principe**: 1.2.149n. **roseo...ore** 'with her rosy lips', an adaptation of her Homeric epithet 'rosy-fingered'; cf. *Met.* 7.705 (of Aurora) *roseo spectabilis ore*. **prouocet** 'call forth', 'summon'; cf. *F.* 1.456, Tib. 1.9.62. This dawn would be the antithetical counterpart to that of O.'s departure from Rome, signalled by the baleful morning star, *Tr.* 1.3.71–2 *dum loquor et flemus, caelo nitidissimus alto, | stella grauis nobis, Lucifer ortus erat*.

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.5**

Cotta Maximus (M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus), one of O.'s closest friends, receives six letters in *Ex P.* 1–3, more than anyone else (1.5, 1.9, 2.3, 2.8, 3.2, 3.5). He was the younger son of Messalla Corvinus, the great soldier, orator and patron of literature, among whose protégés were Tibullus and the young O. In *Ex P.* 2.3 O. remarks that, because of his long devotion to the family, he and Cotta were friends even before the latter's birth (2.3.67–74). He makes friendship the theme of two letters to Cotta (2.3, 3.2), and in 3.5, after praising Cotta's oratory, mentions him as a poet as well (37–44). In 4.16.39–46 O. places Cotta in the crowd of poetry-writing *iuuenes*, calling him *Pieridum lumen praesidiumque fori* (42). He became praetor in 17, the year of O.'s death, and consul in 20.

It is Cotta's identity as a poet that makes him the appropriate addressee for this letter, an extended reflection on the poet's purposes and goals in writing. Despite Cotta's social and political prominence, in 1.5 we find one poet addressing another: there is no begging for help, and O. makes no request of Cotta other than that he read O.'s words (2). As both worthy poet and loyal friend, Cotta functions as a contrast to fame-seeking poets addressed in 57–8 and the faithless friends rebuked in the final couplet (85–6).

The poem falls into three parts. In the first (1–24), O. returns to a theme familiar in the *Tristia*, the decline of his poetic powers: his skill is failing, his verse rough, and he cannot bring himself to correct it. These claims are likely to belie the experience of his readers, to whom O.'s powers seem as great as ever, his verse as skilful and eloquent; but he insists on his poetic decline in order to emphasize his wretchedness and heighten his appeal for sympathy. In 13–14, for instance, he tells Cotta and us to regard his verse as harsh, whether or not we would otherwise so regard it, and even illustrates its harshness with an intentionally awkward series of three monosyllables, intended to embody the sense of the pentameter: *ut tamen ipse uides, luctor deducere uersum: | sed non fit fato mollior ille meo*. O.'s 'pose of poetic decline' (see Williams 1994: 50–99)

ought to be seen as akin to the figure of hyperbole: not to be taken literally, but understood as intensifying the sense.

In the middle section (25–56) O. takes up the question why he, lacking reward and in fact harmed by poetry, should continue to write. Here he returns to themes introduced in the well-known opening of his epistle to Augustus, *Tr.* 2.1–18: *quid mihi uobiscum est, infelix cura, libelli, | ingenio perii qui miser ipse meo?* (1–2). In self-deprecatory and ironic terms, he purports to hold to his *studium non utile* (41) mainly out of habit, and asserts that the use of poetry for him is the ‘forgetfulness of my misfortune’ (55) that he gains from it. Exile has deprived him of customary motives for writing, notably *gloria* and *fama*, and in the final section (57–86) he rejects and dismisses fame as a goal of his poetic efforts. Because Roman poets traditionally measure poetic achievement in terms of the renown won by it, this dismissive disquisition on *fama* is strikingly original. In the *Tristia*, by contrast, the possibility of renown, won through poetry, had been among his consolations, as in a well-known passage of *Tr.* 3.3 (79–80) *quos [sc. libellos] ego confido, quamuis nocuere, daturos | nomen et auctori tempora longa suo*.

Despite the fact that neither poetry nor O.’s once flourishing reputation has succeeded at getting his case reconsidered in Rome, O. still needs to be read (2). His identity as a poet and his standing as the pre-eminent poet in Rome remain the most effective weapons he can bring to bear through public opinion – or such of it as he can muster – in his fight to induce Augustus to relent. O. may not have benefited much from renown, but he still needs it, the ironies of this poem notwithstanding.

1–2 *Ille tuos...ultimus...amicos*: the interlocking word-order (abAB) represents and emphasizes the close connection between O. and Maximus’ friends (Helzle). **Ille...Naso** ‘Naso, well known to you’ (*OLD ille* 4a). **non ultimus** ‘not least’ (*OLD ultimus* 9b) = ‘foremost’ (litotes); cf. 1.1.1, 1.4.51nn. **Maxime, Naso**: though the two friends are separated by O.’s exile, he conceptually reunites them by juxtaposing their names; see Tissol 1997: 74, 84 on O.’s comparable juxtaposition of the names of Ceyx and Alcyone in *Met.* 11.544–6, 705–7.

3–4 O. likewise asks the reader's indulgence for his verses at *Tr.* 4.1.104 *cum uenia facito, quisquis es, ista legas*. **ingenium...** **nostrum** 'my natural talent' for poetry (*OLD ingenium* 5a). **nescius exilii...mei** 'unaware of my exile', i.e. its conditions and their debilitating effect on the poet.

5–6 cernis ut: 1.3.19n.; cf. 1.4.11. **otia** 'inactivity' in a negative sense (*OLD* 5a), in contrast to 1.4.21 *otia corpus alunt*; cf. Catul. 51.12 *otium, Catulle, tibi molestum est*. **capiant uitium** 'acquire a taint' (*OLD uitium* 2c); on the unhealthfulness of stagnant water, cf. Plin. *Nat.* 31.31, Col. 1.5.3. This comparison is the more natural because O. often compares poetic *ingenium* to a spring of water; cf. *Tr.* 3.7.15–16, 3.14.33–4 *ingenium fregere meum mala, cuius et ante | fons infecundus paruaque uena fuit*, *Ex P.* 2.5.21 *ingenioque meo, uena quod paupere manat*, Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 2.18.9–10.

7–8 *siquis* (adjective) is common for *siqui* in the nominative masculine singular (*OLD quis*² 4); it can be metrically convenient, as here. **ducendi carminis usus** 'skill at spinning verses'; the verb connotes fine-spun poetry in the Alexandrian tradition (*OLD* 23d) in contrast to these allegedly rough verses, which are all that O. now can manage; cf. 13–14. **usus** 'skill' that results from experience (L–S I.A.5); cf. *Met.* 6.29 *seris uenit usus ab annis*. **inerte**: -e for -ī in third-declension adjectives is not uncommon in poetry, providing a metrically convenient short syllable; cf. 1.10.14 *inerte* in the same *sedes*, K–H 355. **situ** 'neglect', 'inactivity' (*OLD situs*³ 1b). The ablative is causal; cf. *Am.* 2.3.14 *pigro...situ*, *A. A.* 2.443 *pigra situ securaque pectora torpent*.

9–10 *legitis* is addressed to Cotta Maximus and his family (cf. 1.2.66n.), including also the larger readership; it is remarkably combined with the singular *credis*, addressed to Maximus alone, in the same line. **si quid mihi, Maxime, credis**: O. often regards the miseries of exile and their harmful effects as likely to tax his addressee's credulity; cf. 1.1.59 *si quid miserorum creditur ulli*, 4.10.35 *qui ueniunt istinc, uix uos ea credere dicunt*, *Tr.* 3.11.73.

inuita uixque coacta manu 'forced out by an unwilling hand, and

with difficulty'; -que joins *inuita...manus* and *uix*. **inuita...manu:** 1.2.126n. The separation of *coacta* from *haec* is an instance of hyperbaton that both is metrically convenient and secures the desired noun–adjective articulation of verse 10.

11–12 in 'for' expressing purpose (*OLD* 22a). **animum contendere** 'to exert the mind', 'to concentrate the mind', metrically convenient here for the more common *animum intendere* (*OLD* *intendo* 4b). **curas** 'pains', 'cares' devoted to literary work, especially poetry; cf. 61, Owen on *Tr.* 2.1. **duros** 'harsh' (*OLD* 5a) because uncivilized; cf. 74 *hirsutos...Getas*, 1.1.2n. **uocata** 'at one's call' (Wheeler–Goold), referring to the traditional invocation of the Muse.

13–14 *deducere* 'to spin out' (*OLD* 4b); cf. 7, *Tr.* 1.1.39 *carmina proueniunt animo deducta sereno*, *Met.* 1.4 *deducite...carmen*, Serv. ad Virg. *Ecl.* 6.5 *translatio a lana, quae deducitur in tenuitatem*, Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.225. **sed non fit fato mollior ille meo** 'but it turns out no less harsh than my fate'. **sed non fit fato:** the halting monosyllables in a heavy spondaic hemistich are meant to illustrate the sense; for the spondaic opening of the penta-meter, see Platnauer 1951: 37. **ille:** sc. *uersus*; O. often adds a resumptive *ille* in this *sedes*; cf. 62 *illa*, A. A. 3.105–6 *facies neglecta peribit, | Idaliae similis sit licet illa deae*.

16 *me quoque...iudice* 'even in my own judgment', in contrast to the proverb *suum cuique pulchrum est* (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.63); cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* 1167b34 *πᾶς γὰρ τὸ οἰκεῖον ἔργον ἀγαπᾷ*, 'each loves his own work', Otto 1726, Tosi 551. **lini** 'to be rubbed out', 'to be erased' = *delini*, *oblini*; cf. Hor. *Ars* 445–7 *uir bonus et prudens uersus reprehendet inertis, | culpabit duros, incomptis allinet atrum | transuerso calamo signum*. At *Ex P.* 3.9.7–8 O. acknowledges the faults of his verses, in contrast to common authorial practice, *ipse ego librorum uideo delicta meorum, | cum sua plus iusto carmina quisque probet*.

17–18 *nec tamen emendo*: cf. *Tr.* 5.1.71–2 *ipse nec emendo, sed ut hic deducta legantur; | non sunt illa suo barbariora loco*; O. returns to the point at *Ex P.* 3.9.17–20. **mensque pati durum sustinet**

aegra nihil ‘and my sick mind does not bear to endure anything hard’; *pati* and *sustinere* are near synonyms. For a partial parallel cf. the example of pleonasm at *Her.* 21.58 *uelle uelis* and Kenney *ad loc.*, also 18.113, 20.210; Housman *CP* 1200–1, Diggle 2005 on ‘amplificatory pleonasm’ in epithets whose meaning duplicates that of their nouns. **mensque...aegra**: cf. 1.3.7 *mente iacens*, *Tr.* 3.8.33–4 *nec melius ualeo, quam corpore, mente, sed aegra est | utraque par aeque*, *Ibis* 115 *nec mens uacet aegra dolore*, etc. **nihil**: commonly in this *sedes*; cf. 78, 1.1.32, etc.

19–20 *scilicet incipiam...uocem*: most naturally taken as ironic deliberative questions: ‘should I really begin to use the file more biting and summon individual words to judicial examination?’ Deliberative questions are often ‘used as a form of repudiation’ (*NLS* §172.1.b, 175); *scilicet* is a marker of irony (*OLD* 4). Claiming to be unwilling to undertake this labour, O. wants his neglect of it pardoned (23–4). **sub iudicium...uocem**: a variation of the legal formula *in iudicium uocare* (*OLD iudicium* 2a). On O.’s use of Roman legal vocabulary, see Kenney 1969, McGowan 2009: 41–62.

21–2 A difficult but not intractable couplet: ‘for does fortune torment me too little, unless the Lixus were to flow into the Hebrus and Athos add its leaves to the Alps?’ The Lixus, a river of Mauretania, and the Hebrus in Thrace are widely separated, as are Mount Athos and the Alps; so the protasis, placing each pair in close proximity, expresses two geographical *adynata*. O. demands in exasperation, ‘Is there no pleasing some people? Haven’t I enough to put up with without my critics expecting the impossible?’, impossibility being then conveyed in the familiar figure of the *adynaton*. Wheeler–Goold mistranslate, making O. the agent of the *adynata* (so also Scholte *ad loc.*): ‘Does fortune torture me too little without my making the Lixus flow into the Hebrus and Athos add leaves to the Alps?’ But the *adynata* are *nature*’s impossibilities: ‘are the torments inflicted on me by fortune incomplete unless the impossible were to happen – unless the Lixus were to flow into the Hebrus and Athos shed its leaves on the Alps?’ *Lixus* has been often doubted on the grounds that a less unfamiliar river would make a more effective pairing with the well-known

Hebrus. First attested here, the river recurs at Plin. *Nat.* 5 and Mela 3.107; in poetry at Silius 3.358, 5.400. Of the proposed conjectures, *Nilus* (Heinsius) gives the best sense, but *Liris* (Gaertner) is palaeographically easier. The Liris, forming the boundary of Latium and Campania, was well known to the Romans; see Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.31.7.

23–4 *animo miserabile uulnus habenti*: for the mental wound, cf. 1.3.7n.; for *uulnus habere* (*OLD habeo* 16b), cf. 1.7.50, *Am.* 1.2.29, *A. A.* 1.166, etc. **colla perusta** ‘chafed necks’ (*OLD peruro* 4a); the language and metaphor recall *Her.* 4.20–3 *urimur, et caecum pectora uulnus habent. | scilicet ut teneros laedunt iuga prima iuuencos, | sic male uixque subit primos rude pectus amores*; cf. *Am.* 1.2.14, *Rem.* 235.

25–42 For O. poetry is a profitless endeavour, indeed harmful. So why write? Each is devoted to his own pursuits, even though they bring no benefit.

25–6 *at puto fructus adest* ‘It’s not as if a reward is at hand’; cf. 1.2.41n. The irony signalled by *at puto* extends to the whole couplet.

fructus: Milton’s ‘fair Guerdon’ (*Lycidas* 73); cf. 57–8n. **et sata cum multo fenore reddit ager** ‘and the field returns what was sown with great increase’, i.e. ‘and some good will come of it’; for the metaphor cf. 33–4n., 56. **fenore**: cf. *OLD faenus* 3a, *Ex P.* 3.1.81 *redditur illa [sc. gratia] quidem grandi cum fenore nobis*.

27–8 *tempus ad hoc* ‘up to this time’ (*OLD ad* 10a) = *Ex P.* 4.14.60, *Ibis* 1 in the same *sedes*; for the word-order see K–S I 587.

repetas licet omnia, nullum...opus ‘no work of mine, though you recall them all’ (generalizing second person); cf. *OLD repeto* 6c.

atque signals the parenthesis, like *et* and *-que* (K–S II 26); cf. 1.2.90, 1.4.11nn.; the parenthesis points up the contrast between *profuit* and *nocuisset*. **non** for *ne* strengthens the negation; cf. 1.2.106n., 1.4.42. **nocuisset**: O. is thinking of the *Ars amatoria*; he often uses this verb of the harm done him by the *Ars*, his earlier poetry, and the Muses; cf. *Tr.* 1.9.58, 2.543–4, 3.3.79, 3.7.9, 4.1.35.

29–30 recall the opening theme of *Tr.* 2 (1–18); cf. 3 *cur modo damnatas repeto, mea crimina, Musas?* **miraris? miror et ipse:**

the juxtaposition of different forms of the same verb is akin to polyptoton of nouns and adjectives; cf. 1.10.23 *uigilo uigilantque mei sine fine dolores*, *Met.* 12.213 *Haemonii procere aderant, aderamus et ipsi*. **tecum** ‘as well as you’; *tecum* is more pointed (as well as better attested) than *mecum* (*m*).

31–2 ‘or do the people say truly that poets are insane’. The proverbial madness of poets, which goes back to Democritus (fr. 17 D–K), is a favourite theme of Horace, touched on also by O.; cf. Hor. S. 2.7.117 *aut insanit homo aut uersus facit*, *Ars* 455–6 *uesanum tetigisse timent fugiuntque poetam | qui sapiunt*, Tosi 199. Here again the context recalls the opening of *Tr.* 2; cf. 15 *tanta meo comes est insania morbo*, 1.11.11 *seu stupor huic studio siue est insania nomen*, *Ex P.* 3.9.31 *uixque mihi uideor, faciam qui carmina, sanus*. **an** can introduce a direct rhetorical question, usually ironic or indignant (*OLD* 1a), as at 49–50, 62; cf. 1.6.26. **fides** ‘evidence’, ‘confirmation’ (*OLD* 4a). **uocis** ‘saying’ (*OLD* 8). **huius**: the genitive is generally avoided in poetry, as with *illius*; cf. 1.2.100, 1.4.25nn.

33–4 return to the agricultural imagery of 26; cf. 56. Among the Roman poets, to sow or plough the beach is proverbial of futile activity (Otto 789, Tosi 442). O. replaces the beach with sterile soil, specifically recalling Prop. 2.11.2 *sterili semina ponit humo*; cf. *Her.* 5.115 *quid harenae semina mandas?*, 17.139–40, *Tr.* 5.4.48.

sterili...ab aruo: cf. *Ex P.* 4.2.16 *sed siccum sterili uomere litus aras*; A. A. 1.450 *dominum sterilis saepe fefellit ager*. Instrumental *ab* is not rare in O.; cf. 1.1.41n. **cum**: concessive; for the postponement of *cum*, cf. 1.1.40n. **damnosa** ‘that causes loss’ instead of increase (*OLD* 1b). **persto**: a favourite verb of O.’s; + infinitive also at *Met.* 6.361, 13.77; cf. 1.4.44n.

35–6 recall the proverb *suum cuique pulchrum est* (Cic. *Tusc.* 5.63); cf. 16n., Cic. *Fin.* 5.5 *suo enim quisque studio maxime ducitur*, Virg. *Ecl.* 2.65 *trahit sua quemque uoluptas*, Hom. *Od.* 14.228. The pentameter restates the hexa-meter, as often. **scilicet** ‘clearly’, ‘evidently’; cf. 19n. The irony lies in O.’s application of the maxim to his own case, as if he wrote purely out of habit or forgetfulness.

tempus...ponere ‘to expend time’ (*OLD* *pono* 14a); cf. 48, 1.8.66.

iuuat: sc. *quemque*, to be understood ἀπὸ κοινού from *quisque* in the preceding line.

37–8 *eiurat* ‘swears off’ (*OLD* 4b); cf. Pl. fr. inc. 11 Lindsay *eiuravit militiam*. O. here reintroduces the word into poetry. **et idem** ‘and yet, for all that’. *et* is adversative, as often (*OLD* 14a); for *idem* cf. 1.2.57n. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* 3.564 *et idem*, Hor. *Serm.* 2.3.309, 2.7.23. The *exemplum* recalls Hor. *Ep.* 1.1.1–6, in which the poet compares himself to a retired gladiator who tries to resist efforts to return him to the arena. In this couplet and the next, with its *exemplum* of the shipwrecked man, O. expands upon a single couplet at *Tr.* 2.17–18 *scilicet ut uictus repetit gladiator harenam | et redit in tumidas naufraga puppis aquas*.

39–40 *nil sibi cum...fore* ‘that he will have nothing to do with’ (*OLD cum* 14a); cf. *Am.* 3.2.48 *nil mihi cum pelago*, *Tr.* 3.13.11 *quid tibi cum Ponto?*, *Ex P.* 1.7.25 *utque tibi fuerit mecum nihil amplius*, etc. **cum...undis**: hyperbaton; cf. 1.1.52, 1.2.48nn. **et** ‘and yet’; cf. 37. **ducit remos** ‘he plies his oars’ as an individual rower with a pair of oars; cf. *Met.* 1.294 *et ducit remos illic ubi nuper ararat*. We are to imagine a small boat, one even more exposed to danger than the merchant vessel in which presumably the mariner was shipwrecked.

41–2 *sic ego*: often in this *sedes*; cf. 1.3.7n. **constanter** ‘continually’; common in prose, the word appears in poetry only at Hor. *Serm.* 2.7.6 before O. (6×). **studium non utile seruo** recalls the question put to the young O. by his father, *Tr.* 4.10.21 *studium quid inutile temptas?* **non utile** ‘useless’, ‘unadvantageous’, ‘profitless’; cf. 53–4n. **seruo** ‘keep up’, ‘maintain’ (*OLD* 5). **et repeto, nollem quas coluisse, deas** ‘and I return to the goddesses whom I’d prefer not to have worshipped’, i.e. the Muses; cf. *Tr.* 2.3 *cur modo damnatas repeto, mea crimina, Musas?*, 3.7.9 *ad Musas, quamuis nocuere, reuerti*, 4.1.27–8 *non equidem uellem, quoniam nocitura fuerunt, | Pieridum sacris inposuisse manum*.

43–56 In this ironically self-deprecatory passage, O. reviews various idle pursuits that he might propose to himself as alternatives

to poetry. He dismisses them in favour of his accustomed craft, which grants him forgetfulness of his exile.

43–4 *quid potius faciam?* = *Tr.* 5.7.41. **non sum, qui segnia ducam** | **otia** ‘I’m not one to lead a life of sluggish leisure’; the subjunctive is consecutive-generic. **mors nobis tempus habetur iners** ‘I regard idle time as death’; cf. *Cic. Rep.* 6.14 *uestra uero quae dicitur uita mors est*, *Sen. Ep.* 82.3 *otium sine litteris mors est*.

45–6 *in lucem* ‘until daylight’ (*TLL* VII 2.1907.41–9). **marcescere** ‘to droop’, ‘to become enfeebled’; cf. 2.9.61 *ne tua marcescant per inertis otia somnos*. O. here introduces the inchoative verb into poetry; he also uses the less uncommon *marcere* (cf. McKeown on *Am.* 1.13.41). **incertas** ‘unsteady’ from the excitement and hazard of the game (*OLD* 13a); the adjective is predicative. Cf. *Prop.* 1.3.8 *Cynthia non certis nixa caput manibus*. **tenet** ‘detains’, ‘occupies’; cf. 4.2.41 *nec uinum nec me tenet alea fallax*. **blanda** ‘seductive’ (*OLD* 1a).

47–8 *dedimus somno...horas*: cf. *Met.* 6.489 *placido dantur sua tempora somno*, 12.579 *nox est data cetera somno*. **quo...modo**: for the separation cf. *Met.* 1.359–60 *quo sola timorem | ferre modo posses?* and Bömer *ad loc.*, 13.214–15. **ponam**: 36n. **tempora longa** ‘long periods of time’ (*OLD* 5a).

49–50 *moris...oblitus patrii* ‘forgetting the custom of my native country’; the bow was a characteristically barbarian weapon. **an**: 31n. **Sarmaticos**: 1.2.45n. **trahar arte loci** ‘am I to be drawn by the skill of the region?’ (*OLD traho* 9c). For the inhabitants’ skill and renown at archery, cf. 1.1.79n.

51–2 *uires*: sc. of body, as at 1.4.3; cf. *Tr.* 1.5.72 *inualidae uires ingenuaeque mihi*. For the expression cf. *Met.* 7.573 *prohibent consistere uires*. **mens-que...ualet**: contrast *Hor. Ep.* 1.8.7 *mente minus ualidus quam corpore toto*; cf. *Ex P.* 3.1.71 *si te magis ipse ualerem*. **gracili** ‘skinny’; cf. 1.10.21 *gracili...in corpore*. This couplet is an ironic reversal of the poet’s boast at *Am.* 2.10.23–4, in which he claims to be up to the physical demands of loving two girls at once, *sufficiam: graciles, non sunt sine uiribus artus: | pondere, non neruis, corpora nostra carent*.

53–4 *cum bene quaesieris, quid agam* ‘when you have considered well what I am to do’; cf. *OLD quaero* 9a, *Tr.* 3.9.21 *dum quid agat quaerit*. **quid agam**: indirect deliberative question.

magis utile: a metrically convenient alternative for *utilius*, which O. also uses (*Met.* 7.488, *F.* 2.434, 4.925). **nil utilitatis habent**: O.’s customary pursuit, poetry, ‘has no use’ in the traditional sense of being instructive, nor any in bringing profit or advantage to the poet; certainly it has not succeeded at getting his case reconsidered and his sentence mitigated. Paradoxically ‘nothing is more useful’ than this pursuit because it brings ‘forgetfulness of my misfortune’, as the next couplet indicates.

55–6 recall the concluding couplet of *Tr.* 5.7 (67–8) *carminibus quaero miserarum obliuia rerum: | praemia si studio consequar ista, sat est*. **ex illis** ‘from them’, i.e. *his artibus* (54); a resumptive use of the pronoun, which is not meant to contrast with *his*. **casus** ‘misfortune’, often used by O. of his exile; cf. 1.3.62n. **hanc... humus**: a return to the agricultural imagery of 26, now with less intense irony.

57–70 At *Tr.* 4.1.3 O. mentions that fame is not his motive for writing: *exul eram, requiesque mihi, non fama petita est*. Now that O. has declared *casus obliuia nostri* (55) to be his reason for continuing to write, he rejects renown as a goal of poetic ambition, devoting the rest of the poem to this theme. His rejection of *gloria* and *fama* is forceful and compelling, though there is much irony throughout, as, for instance, in his boast that the lower Danube has no talent greater than his own (63–4). At the very end of the three-book collection, he returns to this theme, dismissing *gloria* and claiming *utilitas* and *officium* as the purpose for his writings: 3.9.55–6 *da ueniam scriptis, quorum non gloria nobis | causa, sed utilitas officiumque fuit*.

57–8 ‘As for you, let renown incite you; stay awake for the Muses’ band, in order that your poems may be recited and receive praise’.

gloria...acuat: cf. 4.2.36 *immensum gloria calcar habet*, *Tr.* 5.1.75–6 *denique nulla mihi captatur gloria, quaeque | ingeniis stimulos subdere fama solet*. **uos** is repeated in different cases (polyptoton); its repetition makes an emphatic contrast with *nobis*

(59). *uos* may refer to the poetry-writing *iuuenes* with whom O. associates Cotta himself at 4.16.39–46. **recitata**: poets publicized their work through recitations in public settings (*spissis...theatris*, according to Hor. *Ep.* 1.19.41–2) as well as private (cf. 1.2.135n.). Maternus in Tac. *Dial.* 11.2 reports that he gained fame as much by recitation of his tragedies as by pleading cases. **Pieriis...choris**: Piera in Macedonia was the birthplace of the Muses (Hes. *Theog.* 53–62); cf. *Tr.* 5.3.9–10 *egi | in studiis uitam Pieridumque choro*.

inuigilate: the verb is used of the lucubrations of a learned poet also at Cinna, fr. 11.1–2 *haec tibi Arateis multum inuigilata lucernis | carmina*; cf. Lucr. 1.142 *noctes uigilare serenas*. This passage attracted the notice of Milton, who like O. questions the ‘unceasing care’ devoted to his ‘thankless Muse’ (*Lycidas* 64, 66). In *Lycidas* he rejects poetic fame for different reasons, choosing divine over earthly approbation, but adapts to his purpose O.’s language here and at *Ex P.* 4.2.36 *immensum gloria calcar habet*: ‘Fame is the spur that the clear spirit doth raise | (That last infirmity of Noble mind) | to scorn delights, and live laborious days’ (70–2); cf. 25, 61nn., Wilkinson 1955: 11n.

59–60 *ex facili* ‘easily’. The idiom is first used by O. (cf. *Am.* 2.2.55, *A. A.* 1.356, 3.579, *Rem.* 522), who favours such adverbial phrases constructed with *ex* + adjective; cf. 4.8.72 *ex toto* (= *omnino*), *Am.* 1.10.33 *ex aequo*, 2.4.16 *ex alto*, 3.9.4 *ex uero*, K–S || 506–7. *ex tuto* is used similarly with *uenit* at *A. A.* 3.603 *quae uenit ex tuto, minus est accepta uoluptas*. **intenti** ‘earnest’ or ‘strenuous’ (*OLD* 2b, 3). **causa**: often used by O. in this *sedes*; cf. 1.7.28, 2.2.54, 4.1.6, 4.2.14, 4.5.46, 4.9.40, 4.13.42.

61–2 *sollicita...cura* ‘painstakingly attentive care’ (*OLD sollicitus* 4a); cf. Milton’s ‘unceasing care’ (*Lycidas* 64). **poliam**: for the metaphor, cf. Catul. 1.1–2 *libellum | arida modo pumice expolitum*, Lucr. 6.82–3 *politis | uersibus*. **an**: 31n. **approbet** pointedly recalls *probentur* (57), contrasting the imagined readership of *uos* with that of O. himself. **illa**: resumptive; cf. 14n. **Getes**: collective singular; cf. 1.2.76 *finitimo uix loca nota Getae*. This couplet recalls *Tr.* 4.1, in which O. laments that there is no one to whom he can read his verses (89–90) and similarly questions the point of his

efforts: *saepe tamen dixi 'cui nunc haec cura laborat? | an mea Sauromatae scripta Getaeque legent?'* (93–4).

63–4 *forsitan*: cf. 1.2.5n. for *forsitan* + subjunctive, 1.1.78n. + indicative. **glorior**: an ironic recollection of *gloria* (57). **Histrum** = *regionem Histri*; cf. Virg. G. 2.497 *coniurato descendens Dacus ab Histro* and Mynors *ad loc.* **ingenio...meo**: cf. Tr. 5.1.74 *inter Sauromatas ingeniosus eram*. O.'s boast 'that the lower Danube has no talent greater than my own' is deeply ironic.

65–6 *hoc, ubi uiuendum est...aruo* 'in this land where I must live'; *aruo* is displaced (hyperbaton). **satis est**: deeply ironic, for, from a Roman perspective, to be a poet requires a civilized audience.

inter inhumanos...poeta Getas: placed within the prepositional phrase, the poet appears surrounded by 'uncivilized Getae', word-order representing the sense of the line; cf. 4.13.21–2 *coepique poetae | inter inhumanos nomen habere Getas*. The repetition of *satis est* three times in close proximity (56, 59, 65) is unusual (*satietaem mouet* according to Richmond on 56), perhaps a sign that in his late writings O. was no longer going out of his way to avoid repetition of this kind; see Kenney 1996: 24–5. Gaertner's case for deleting the couplet is unpersuasive. The language and expression are unexceptionable, the hyperbaton and irony characteristically Ovidian. The couplet fits naturally in its context, in which O. claims to be content with his virtually nonexistent local audience.

67–8 'What good would it do me to hasten by means of renown to the opposite side of the world? Let that place be Rome which fortune has given me.' **quo mihi** (*tibi*, etc.) + infinitive (or noun in the accusative) is a common idiom, with ellipse of a main verb; cf. OLD *quo*¹ 2, H–S 424, A. A. 1.303 *quo tibi, Pasiphae, pretiosas sumere uestes?*, Her. 2.53, Am. 3.7.49, Hor. Ep. 1.5.12. **diuersum**: cf. OLD 4a, Tr. 3.14.26 *diuerso missum...ab orbe*, 4.2.69 *diuersum missus in orbem*, Her. 13.151, A. A. 1.685, Met. 2.323.

contendere: cf. OLD 5a. This ironic couplet is not to be taken as acceptance of the consolatory viewpoint that O. rejected in 1.3. In the pentameter O. claims only that he can be satisfied with a local

readership, not that Tomis can now be everything that Rome once was for him.

69–70 *theatro* ‘audience’, whether listeners (*OLD* 1c) or readers.

merui: O. often admits that he deserves punishment (cf. 1.1.49n.), here that he deserves one consequence of exile, a small and uncultivated audience. **magni...dei**: ‘a reverential expression’ (Owen on *Tr.* 2.22), here tinged with irony, as if the gods concerned themselves with the nature of O.’s audience. The reference is to Augustus, as at 1.1.48 *magno...deo*, *Tr.* 5.9.12 *magnos...deos*.

71–86 O. supposes that his *libelli* cannot reach Rome, then reflects that even if they were read there, he would gain no benefit. At the end he turns from Cotta to address those who, presumably unlike Cotta, have forgotten him, and offers a grim final reflection on the transitoriness of poetic fame.

71–2 *istuc...quo Boreas pinna deficiente uenit* ‘to that region of yours where Boreas comes on failing wing’; i.e. when the north wind arrives in Rome, it has lost its strength. By contrast, O. regards his place of exile as the source of the north wind, where it is at its strongest; cf. 4.10.41–2 *hinc oritur Boreas oraeque domesticus huic est | et sumit uires a propiore loco*. Boreas, like other winds, is winged; cf. *Tr.* 3.10.45, *Met.* 6.702–3. Whether O. wrote *pinna* or *penna* is not certain. The two forms are phonological variants of the same word; see Schwind 1993. *penna* is not well attested for any period, but both forms apparently were in use in the first century, to judge by Quint. 1.4.12, where *penna* is mentioned as an erroneous etymology for *bipennis*; see Maltby 1991 *ad loc.* *Penna* is supported by the word’s etymological connection to πτερόν, πέτομαι, etc.; and according to Servius *auctus* on Virg. *Aen.* 11.651, *ueteres ‘pennas’ dicebant, non ‘pinnas’*. *pinna* was standard in late antiquity, as Servius’ remark suggests, and that fact may account for its prevalence in MSS; but it may also have been standard much earlier. The supposed distinction between *penna*, applied to birds’ feathers and wings, and *pinna*, applied to fortifications, is a grammarian’s fancy; see Schwind 1993: 172–6. In medieval *scriptoria* it promoted *penna* for wings and feathers without however driving out *pinna* in the same sense. Both forms flourish in MS traditions except where

an effort has been made to regularize orthography in favour of one or the other. The MSS of the *Met.*, for instance, regularize *penna*, which Tarrant prints throughout; see Tarrant 2004: 499 s.v. *penna*. But in the first century the word is at least as likely to have been spelled *pinna*. **nostris iter esse libellis**: the books, unable to journey to Rome, are personified, recalling the opening of 1.1 (1–36). O's supposition that his books cannot reach Rome does not match the experience of the Roman reader of *Ex P.* 1–3, who must have received them. The effect of this ironic disjunction is to make the point that his books might as well not have reached their readers, for all the good that they are doing him. In this couplet O. characteristically yokes diverse stylistic registers, passing from the mundane physicality of the book in the hexameter to the realm of myth in the pentameter.

73–4 diuidimur caelo 'we are separated by the heavens', i.e. by their vast space. **procul urbe Quirini**: O. construes *procul* with the simple ablative of separation or with *ab* as suits the metre; cf. *Tr.* 5.10.3 *at mihi iam uideor patria procul esse tot annis*, 4.2.69 *aque procul Latium*, etc. 'The city of Quirinus' is a periphrasis for Rome; Quirinus was a Sabine deity assimilated to the deified Romulus; cf. *F.* 2.475–6 *at tertia [sc. lux] dicta Quirino: | qui tenet hoc nomen, Romulus ante fuit*. **aspicit** fits the bear, which 'descries the shaggy Getae close at hand', and the constellation, since celestial bodies 'gaze upon' the earth; cf. *Met.* 2.32 *Sol oculis iuuenem quibus aspicit omnia uidit*. **Vrsa**: Ursa Major, the constellation of the north star. The Arcadian huntress Callisto was turned into a bear, then into this constellation (*Met.* 2.409–507, *F.* 2.153–92); cf. *Tr.* 3.4.47–8 *proxima sideribus tellus Erymanthidos Vrsae | me tenet*. **hirsutos**: one of O.'s stock epithets for the Getae; cf. 1.1.2n. To emphasize the frigidity and barrenness of his place of exile, O. represents it as far to the north of Rome, though in fact it is no farther north than Rimini, and 'really the stars visible at Tomi would be very nearly the same as those at Rome, since the latitude of Rome is 41° 53' N., that of Tomi about 43° 46' N.' (Owen on *Tr.* 1.5.61, cited by Scholte).

75–6 *per tantum terrae, tot aquas* recalls Achilles' reflection on the great distance separating Troy from his home in Phthia, ἐπεὶ ἦ

μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ | οὐρεὰ τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἤχηεσσα (Hom. *Il.* 1.156–7), ‘for there are very many shady mountains and a resounding sea between’. It also recalls a passage of *Tr.* 4.9 in which O. makes a point opposite to that made here: addressing an enemy who has injured him, he declares that through poetry he will make his complaints known all over the world and across any distance, *Tr.* 4.9.23 *trans ego tellurem, trans altis audiar undas*. **uix credere possum**: cf. *Her.* 17.119 *credere uix...possum*. **indiciū studii transiluisse mei** ‘that a trace of my literary pursuits has leapt across’. **indiciū**: a ‘piece of evidence’ or ‘sign’ that indicates the existence of something (*OLD* 4a). The term reflects O.’s use of Roman legal vocabulary; cf. 20n. **transiluisse**: cf. Prop. 2.18.38 *terram rumor transilit et maria*, *Tr.* 1.10.21 *saltus ab hac contra brevis est Tempyra petenti*.

77–8 *finge legi*: sc. *studium*. The ellipse of a subject-accusative (usually a personal pronoun) is common when it can be easily assumed from the context; cf. 1.1.51n. As often, the imperative substitutes for the protasis of a conditional sentence; cf. 1.10.9–10, K–S || 164–5. **quodque est mirabile, finge placere** ‘and – a thing that would be amazing – imagine that it finds favour’. **quod** often signals parenthetical insertions of this kind (*OLD* 13a); cf. Cic. *Brut.* 246 *quod mirabile esset*, Livy 24.10.11 *quod mirabile est*. **est mirabile**: as with *longum est*, *difficile est*, etc., a potential expression is required in English; cf. G–L 254.1, K–S | 171. **auctorem** ‘author’ (*OLD* 13c); cf. 1.1.6n. **nihil**: adverbial (*OLD* 11a), as at 1.1.32 and often.

79–82 are suspected by Richmond; Gaertner deletes them (81–2 had already been deleted by Bentley). The lines are, however, stylistically unobjectionable and fit well enough in their context. They exemplify in hyperbolic terms the point just made that fame, and the praise that it occasions in distant lands, bring about no benefit for the author. They do not, however, simply restate a point already made. In them the poet skilfully reverses his relation to his addressee: what good would it do Cotta to have his own poems praised in some remote and inhospitable region? O. claims to be content with such a fate, but to be at Rome is infinitely preferable to being famous at the

ends of the earth. O.'s rejection of fame stands in marked contrast to the conventional view of Roman poets, who measure poetic achievement in terms of being known all over the world (cf. O. himself at *Am.* 1.15.8 *in toto semper ut orbe canar*), even at its extreme limits; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 2.20.17–20 *me Colchus et...Dacus et ultimi | noscent Geloni, me peritus | discet Hiber Rhodanique potor*.

79–80 *quid tibi, si calida, prosit, laudere Syene*: the hyperbaton is characteristically Ovidian; cf. 1.1.80n. *plus isto, duri, si precer, oris ero*. **calida...Syene** 'in sweltering Syene' (modern Aswan) in southernmost Egypt, at the border of Ethiopia and the limit of the Roman world. The poets sometimes substitute the locative ablative for the locative (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.766 *Longa...dominabitur Alba*); the locative *calidae...Syenae* (B) is also a possible reading.

Taprobanen: Ceylon (Sri Lanka). The name, which appears in Greek geographical writers, including O.'s contemporary Strabo (1.4.2, 2.1.14), is first attested here in Latin. **tingit**: the Indian ocean 'makes wet' the shore of the island (*OLD* 1c); cf. *Tr.* 1.4.1 *tingitur oceano custos Erymanthidos ursae*, Virg. *G.* 1.246, 2.481. *cingit (m)* is also possible; cf. *Met.* 4.21 *decolor extremo qua cingitur India Gange* (Tarrant accepts the variant *tingitur*).

81–2 *altius* 'higher' is questionable, because distance, not height above the earth, is the point of comparison denoted by *distantia longe | Pleiadum...signa*. The easy correction *latius* 'farther afield' (attributed by Gaertner to Kenney and Harrison) is attractive, pointing to the climax of increasing remoteness in Syene, Taprobane and the Pleiades. **feras** 'gain' (*OLD* 36a).

83–4 'but I do not reach that place of yours by means of my commonplace writings'. O. identifies himself with his books, as often in the exilic poetry; see Hinds 1985, Tissol 2005. **neque...-que**: *OLD neque* 8a; cf. 1.2.93–4 *neque...et*. **mediocribus**: cf. Hor. *Ars* 372–3 *mediocribus esse poetis | non homines, non di, non concessere columnae*. **istuc** refers to Rome, picking up 71 *istuc*.

famaque: O.'s personification of his reputation is the simple and unadorned, as befits an exile, wholly unlike the elaborate personifications of *Fama* in Virgil (*Aen.* 4.173–88) and the *Met.* (12.39–63). **domino...suo** is ironic; this letter shows that O. is far

from 'master' of his reputation. **fugit** 'went into exile' (*OLD* 4a); cf. *Tr.* 1.5.66 *a patria fugi uictus et exul ego*.

85–6 These lines continue the personification of O.'s *fama*, which, having gone into exile with him, perished and was buried; yet O. does not regard himself as having survived his own reputation, since for him exile is death. O.'s view of *fama* here is markedly different from that of the *Tristia*; cf. *Tr.* 3.7.50 *me tamen extincto fama superstes erit*. He returns to his earlier view at *Ex P.* 4.16.3 *famaque post cineres maior uenit*. **uosque**: O. addresses his faithless friends in Rome, including no doubt the ambitious poets of 57–8. Desirous of *gloria* themselves, they have forgotten one whose reputation is in eclipse. For the change of addressees cf. 3.4, addressed to Rufinus, in which O. turns to address also *poetae* (67) and *amici* (69). **quibus perii** 'for whom I perished', i.e. 'in whose eyes I perished'. **fama sepulta est**: cf. *Her.* 7.92 *nec mea concubitu fama sepulta foret*. **morte**: i.e. my exile, my living death; cf. 2.3.42 *instar et hanc uitam mortis habere puta*. For a list of references to the theme of exile as death, see Helzle on 1.2.27–8.

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.6**

C. Pomponius Graecinus receives two letters in the three-book collection and one in book 4 (1.6, 2.6, 4.9). His brother L. Pomponius Flaccus is almost certainly the Flaccus addressed in 1.10. Both were military men with political aspirations that proved successful, Graecinus attaining the consulship in 16 CE and Flaccus the following year; see Syme 1978: 74–5. In this poem O. presents himself as an 'old friend' (53 *ueteri...amico*), and indeed Graecinus is the only addressee in the *Epistulae ex Ponto* to whom one of the *Amores* is also addressed. He had denied that anyone can love two women at the same time, and in *Am.* 2.10 O. undertakes to disprove this claim; see McKeown's headnote.

The poem falls into three verse paragraphs. In the first (1–26) O. praises Graecinus' humanity and kindness, lamenting his absence at the time of the poet's exile and appealing for present aid. O. still retains hope, and in the second section (27–46) celebrates the

power of the goddess Spes to sustain human beings even in extreme misery. He closes with an appeal to Graecinus to intercede on his behalf (47–54). After O. initially addresses Graecinus by name (*Graecine*, 3), the recurrence of this vocative marks the beginning of the following two sections (27, 47).

Graecinus was not in Rome and presumably on a military assignment when O. learned of his own disaster (13–16); O. sorely missed his consolation at that time. Now he asks at first only for words of encouragement (17–18), presumably in epistolary form, but finally alters his request to one for active intercession. Graecinus may have written to O., asking about the charges against him; certainly in 21–6 O. represents Graecinus as wanting to know *peccati quae sit origo* (21) and tells him to stop asking, *rogare... desine* (23–4). All he will say is that he wants his fault labelled correctly as *culpa*, not *facinus* (25). Clearly his contemporaries knew little of the causes of his exile, probably no more than we do. The larger audience of 1.6, including posterity, is meant to take the hint and not to enquire further. Many have failed to take it, and, as O. would have wished, history has repaid them with its silence.

O. here portrays this friendship as close and affectionate, but in *Ex P.* 2.6 he reproves Graecinus for his *aspera uerba* (2.6.8), thereby offering an ironic commentary on the praise that he receives here for his liberal culture and lack of *asperitas* (cf. 8n. below).

The passage on Spes (27–46) is of special interest. That hope remains despite O.'s sufferings is a theme present also in the *Tristia*; cf. *Tr.* 3.5.53–4 *spes igitur superest, ut molliat ipse, futurum, | mutati poenam condicione loci*. Echoing this couplet in 27–8, O. here celebrates Hope as a goddess who can sustain even the most wretched mortals. A series of *exempla*, demonstrating her power, culminates in her rescue of the poet from attempted suicide. The *exempla* are a feature of hymnic style, as is the conspicuous anaphora. The passage is enriched with allusion to Theognis and Tibullus (cf. 29–30n.).

In 2.6.19–28 Tibullus, shut out by his mistress Nemesis, declares that but for Spes he would have put an end to his woes by death:

iam mala finissem leto, sed credula uitam
 Spes fouet et fore cras semper ait melius.
 Spes alit agricolas, Spes sulcis credit aratis
 semina quae magno faenore reddat ager.
 haec laqueo uolucres, haec captat harundine pisces,
 cum tenues hamos abdidit ante cibus.
 Spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum:
 crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus.
 Spes facilem Nemesis spondet mihi, sed negat illa:
 ei mihi, ne uincas, dura puella, deam.

In Nemesis' harsh exclusion of the poet and the sufferings of love O. recognizes a parallel to his own misery in exile; cf. 29–30, 31–2nn.; Murgatroyd, Maltby on Tib. 2.6.19–28. In borrowing Tibullus' *exempla* he disregards those that illustrate the power of Hope to deceive – the birds and fish baited and caught (23–4) – producing for once a passage less ironic than that of a predecessor. He also disregards the qualification of his earlier portrayal at A. A. 1.445–6, in which Spes appears as 'a deceptive to be sure but nevertheless serviceable goddess': *Spes tenet in tempus, semel est si credita, longum; | illa quidem fallax, sed tamen apta dea est.*

1–2 *Ecquid*...cor tibi triste fuit? O. favours this adverbial use of *ecquid* 'at all' (*OLD* 1a; 20× in O., 6× in *Ex P.*); it begins verse epistles also at 2.1.1, *Tr.* 5.2.1. The separation of *ecquid* from its clause is characteristically Ovidian hyperbaton, here serving as an enclosing structure, within which the two subordinate clauses are neatly infolded; see Introduction 24–5. **ut** 'when' (*OLD* 26a). **nam** signals a parenthesis, as often (K–S II 115); cf. *Met.* 1.2–3 *di, coeptis (nam uos mutastis et illa) aspirate meis*, von Albrecht 1964: 58–60. **casus** 'misfortune'; cf. 1.3.62n.

3–4 dissimules: used absolutely (*OLD* 2), as at 4.3.9, *Tr.* 1.1.62, A. A. 1.276. **licet** 'although' often follows the verb it governs; cf. 1.2.35 *ueniat licet*, *Met.* 4.370 *pugnes licet*, etc. **si bene te noui**: a Horatian expression (*Ep.* 1.18.1; cf. S. 1.9.22 *si bene me noui*) = *Ex P.* 2.3.49, *Am.* 2.18.39, A. A. 3.51, always at the beginning of a line. **triste fuisse liquet**: sc. *cor*, answering the question in 1–2. O.

opposes *liquet* to *dissimulare* also at *Tr.* 1.1.61–2 *ut...dissimulare uelis, te liquet esse meum*.

5–6 *cadit* in ‘is consistent with’ (*OLD* 22a), a Ciceronian idiom; cf. *Sul.* 75 *non...cadit in hos mores...ista suspicio*, *Cael.* 69 *nihil est quod in eius modi mulierem non cadere uideatur*, *Virg. Ecl.* 9.17 *cadit in quemquam tantum scelus?* **inamabilis**: cf. *Tr.* 5.7.43 *locus est inamabilis*. In *O.* the adjective always occurs in this *sedes* (5×), as usual with adjectives in *-bilis*; cf. 1.3.25n. **a...dissidet** ‘is at variance with’ (*OLD* *dissideo* 3a). **studiis...tuis** ‘your pursuits’, specified as *artibus ingenuis* in the following line. The penta-meter, largely a restatement of the hexameter, applies to Graecinus’ intellectual pursuits what the hexameter had applied to his character.

illa: resumptive, often introduced by *O.* in this *sedes*; cf. 1.4.17n., 1.5.62, etc.

7–8 *artibus ingenuis* ‘the liberal arts’ (= 2.7.47 in the same *sedes*), a favourite expression of Cicero (cf. *De orat.* 1.73 *omnibus ingenuis artibus instructus* and Leeman–Pinkster *ad loc.*) and *O.*; cf. *Ex P.* 2.9.47–8 *adde quod ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes | emollit mores nec sinit esse feros* and Galasso *ad loc.* for the popularity of the *topos*; 2.5.66, *Tr.* 1.9.45, *Am.* 3.8.1, *A. A.* 2.121, *F.* 3.6.

mollescunt ‘soften’, i.e. lose their harshness under a beneficent influence. The metaphor, more often used pejoratively of becoming luxurious or unmanly, here recalls *Lucr.* 5.1014 on the rise of civilizing institutions: *tum genus humanum primum mollescere coepit*. **asperitasque fugit**: cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.8.6 *asperitas agrestis et inconcinna grauisque*; for the personification cf. *A. A.* 1.238 *cura fugit*, *Her.* 19.89 *quoque illa audacia fugit?* Despite the banishment of *asperitas* here, *O.* later reproves Graecinus for his *aspera uerba* at 2.6.8 *aspera confesso uerba remitte reo*.

9–10 *melioe fide* ‘with more sincerity’, ‘more genuinely’ (*OLD* 7b).

qua ‘to the extent that’ (*OLD* 5a) = *quatenus*. **officium militiaeque labor**: cf. *F.* 1.302 *officiumque fori militiaeue labor*.

11–12 *certe ego*: the elision of *-ē* before an initial short vowel is rare (Platnauer 1951: 74), but *O.*, following *Catul.* 64.149, begins a dozen hexa-meters with *certe ego*; cf. *Tr.* 4.5.13, *Am.* 1.6.19, *Rem.*

781, *Her.* 1.115, 19.81, 21.211, *Met.* 8.99, 13.840, *F.* 4.725, 727, *Ibis* 129. **sentire, quid essem** ‘to recognize what I was’, sc. an exile (cf. *OLD sentio* 2a). O. relives the moment of his banishment, as at *Tr.* 1.3.11–16, where he also describes himself as initially stunned, as if thunderstruck (11–12 *non aliter stupui, quam qui louis ignibus ictus | uiuit et est uitae nescius ipse suae*); then, as his senses recover (14 *et tandem sensus conualuere mei*), he learns that but few friends remain to support him (15–16). **nam** signals a parenthesis; cf. 1n. **fuit attoniti mens mea nulla diu** ‘stunned as I was, I could not think for a long time’. For the collocation of *mea* with the genitive, cf. *Am.* 1.8.108 *ut mea defunctae molliter ossa cubent* and McKeown *ad loc.*, K–S | 245. **nulla** ‘annihilated’, ‘non-existent’ (*OLD* 4b), an instance of hyperbole; cf. *Met.* 11.684–5 ‘*nulla est Alcyone, nulla est*, ait; ‘*occidit una | cum Ceyce suo*’.

13–14 *hoc quoque fortunam sensi, quod* ‘I perceived my fate in this also, that’. *sensi* picks up *sentire* (11). *hoc* is best taken as ablative, not accusative; cf. *Tr.* 3.4.61 (O.’s wife) *ingrauat* [sc. *meos casus*] *hoc, quod abest; leuat hoc, quod praestat amorem*.

abesses is subjunctive of attributed reason. When an author describes his own past action, as here, he can use the subjunctive to represent his thought at that time, as distinct from the time of writing; see *NLS* §242n1. **praesidium** ‘source of protection’ in the language of clients and patrons; cf. 4.16.42 (addressed to Cotta Maximus) *Pieridum lumen, praesidiumque fori*, *Hor. Carm.* 1.1.2 *o et praesidium et dulce decus meum* and Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.*

15–16 *aegrae solacia mentis*: for *aegrae...mentis* cf. 1.5.18n., *Tr.* 3.8.25 *aegrae contagia mentis*; for *solacia* cf. 1.3.3n. Keene cites *Macbeth* 5.3 ‘Canst thou not minister to a mind diseased?’

magnaue pars animi ‘a great part of my courage’ (*OLD animus* 13b), recalling an expression of somewhat different meaning by which a friend is represented as *pars animae*, ‘a part of my soul’; cf. 1.8.2 *pars animae magna, Seuere, meae*, *Met.* 8.406 *pars animae... meae*, *Hor. Carm.* 1.3.8 *animae dimidium meae* and Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.*

17–18 *at nunc, quod superest, fer opem, precor, minus unam* ‘but now – all that remains – bring me, I pray, one help from afar’.

quod superest often serves as an adverbial clause meaning either 'for the future' (cf. *Tr.* 5.1.23, 5.5.18, *Virg. Aen.* 11.15, etc.) or 'furthermore', 'next' (a transitional formula common in *Lucr.*; cf. 3.350, 4.768, etc.); cf. *OLD supersum* 6d. Here, however, it seems better taken as a parenthetical comment on *opem...unam*: Graecinus' absence has deprived O. of much benefit, and only one source of aid remains, his words of comfort (18 *alloquio-que...tuo*).

precor: often parenthetically inserted in the context of an imperative (*OLD* 5a); cf. 1.10.41. **alloquioque...tuo** 'by your consolation': *alloquium* is first attested at *Hor. Epod.* 13.18; 5× in O.'s exilic poetry. Properly referring to spoken words, O. here transfers the term to presumably written communication.

19–26 O. attributes the charges against him to folly on his part, not crime, and declines to discuss the origin of his mistake, which he characterizes as *culpa*, not *facinus*. These lines are a reworking of the conclusion of *Tr.* 3.6 (25–38), a longer and slightly more revealing passage in which O. tells a friend that 'it is neither a brief tale nor safe to say by what accident my eyes were made witness to a deadly evil' (27–8). Here he shrinks from saying even so much.

19–20 non mendaci = *uerissimo*, 'very truthful' (litotes). **si quicquam credis amico** = *Tr.* 3.4.3; cf. 1.1.59n., *Tr.* 5.4.23 *si quid mihi credis*. **stulta magis...quam scelerata** recalls *Tr.* 1.2.100 *stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata fuit*; cf. *Ex P.* 1.7.44 *stultitiam dici crimina posse mea*, *Tr.* 3.6.35 *stultitiamque meum crimen debere uocari*.

21–2 nec breue nec tutum = *Tr.* 3.6.27 (*leue* Hall). **tractari uulnera nostra timent**: this clause may appear to be an explanation of *nec tutum*, but really offers a further reason for the poet's unwillingness to discuss the origin of his mistake. O. is compressing into one couplet the content of two in *Tr.* 3.6 (27–30): *nec tutum* refers to the danger that discussion of this topic could bring to O. and his friends; *tractari...timent* refers to the pain that it causes him; cf. 1.3.16 *horrent admotas uulnera cruda manus*. The next couplet continues the metaphor of a wound for mental anguish; cf. 1.3.7, 1.5.23nn.

23–4 *qualia...facta* ‘the nature of those wounds, and how they were dealt me’. For *uulnera facere* ‘to inflict wounds’ cf. 4.7.50, *Tr.* 1.1.99, etc. **non agites** ‘do not disturb them’. *agitare* is a technical term of medicine; cf. *TLL* I 1333.50–9, *OLD* 1b; Cels. 7.26.2G *id est ne saepius agitanda uesica sit. non* for *ne* strengthens the negation; cf. 1.2.106n., 1.4.42. **siqua** sc. *uulnera*. **coire** ‘to close up’, ‘to mend’; cf. 1.3.87n. Gaertner deletes the couplet, but the fact that it is a variation of the preceding couplet does not tell against it: it is more emphatic, moving from the general statement of 21–2 to a strong prohibition. The expression is condensed, especially *non agites... uelis*, very much in O.’s manner. The use of medical terms points rather to the author of the *Remedia amoris* than to an interpolator.

25–6 *quidquid id est* = 2.9.77, 3.3.73, both in the same *sedes*; in both later instances the expression refers to O.’s *culpa* and echoes the present passage. Here *id* refers to O.’s *peccatum*, picking up 21 *peccati quae sit origo*. **ut...sic** ‘while...at the same time’, marking a contrast (*OLD ut* 5b). **culpa**: cf. 1.1.61n. Distinguished from *facinus* and *scelus*, *culpa* – occurring twice in this couplet – is meant to emphasize O.’s relatively low degree of guilt. The point may have been lost on Graecinus, who, to judge by 2.6.7 *sera meae conuicia culpa*, regarded O.’s *culpa* as cause for a strong rebuke. The ten-word hexameter, assisted only by an aphaeresis in *uocanda est*, is unusual; cf. 1.2.145n. **an** can introduce a rhetorical question, usually ironic or indignant; cf. 1.5.31n. **scelus est**: the monosyllabic ending to the pentameter is anomalous, paralleled elsewhere in O. only at *F.* 4.922 *sat est* = *Tr.* 5.7.68. Aphaeresis of *est* produces a regular disyllabic ending to the pentameter at 1.2.140 *proba est*, 3.9.6 *bene est*, etc. **scelus** picks up *scelerata* (20).

27–46 O. celebrates the power of the goddess Hope to sustain even the most wretched mortals.

27–8 *spes...non est ex toto nulla relict* ‘some hope has been left behind’, literally ‘not entirely none’. For the separation of *non* and *nullus*, cf. *Tr.* 3.5.43 *denique non possum nullam sperare salutem*, 5.8.22 *non est placandi spes mihi nulla dei*. **ex toto**: O. favours adverbial phrases constructed with *ex* + adjective; cf. 1.5.59n. He

construes *ex toto* with a negative also at 4.8.72, *Her.* 16.160.

igitur: because his misdeed is only a *culpa*, O. regards it as logical to retain some hope. **Graecine**: recurrence of this vocative marks the start of a new section; cf. 3, 47. **meae**: the adjective is widely separated from its noun *poenae* (hyperbaton) without offering any stumbling block to the reader; indeed its placement rounds off the couplet (see Introduction 24–5).

29–30 *haec dea*: two temples and a shrine to the goddess Spes are known to us in Rome; see *LTVR* 4: 336–8. *haec* begins the hexameters of the two following couplets (31, 33) and 39; cf. *Her.* 20.101, 103, Wills 1996: 406–10. Anaphora of this type is characteristic of hymnic style; see Nisbet–Hubbard on *Hor. Carm.* 1.21.13. It also recalls *Tib.* 2.6.19–28, the passage on Spes generally alluded to here, wherein the goddess’ name begins successive hexameters (see headnote). **sceleratas...terras** refers to the age of iron, when ‘the earth was stained with unspeakable crime’, *Catul.* 64.397–8 *sed postquam tellus scelere est imbuta nefando | iustitiamque omnes cupida de mente fugarunt*. In most versions, the gods depart and Iustitia alone remains (*Arat. Phaen.* 133–6, *Virg. G.* 2.473–4); so also *Met.* 1.150 *ultima caelestum terras Astraea reliquit*, *F.* 1.249–50. Here O. follows *Theognis* 1135–6 Ἑλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνη θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν, | ἄλλοι δ’ Οὐλυμπόν(δ’) ἐκπρολιπόντες ἔβαν, ‘Hope is the only good divinity among human beings: the others left and went to Olympus’, a passage that recalls Hesiod’s story of Pandora’s jar (*Op.* 96–8). *Theognis* may be present to O.’s mind as an earlier poet of exile; cf. *Citroni Marchetti* 2000: 158. **in dis inuisa...humo** = *in humo dis inuisa* (hyperbaton). The displacement of the object of a preposition is characteristic; cf. 1.2.148n.

31–2 An adaptation of Tibullus’ example of the shackled slave, *Tib.* 2.6.25–6 *spes etiam ualida solatur compede uinctum: | crura sonant ferro, sed canit inter opus*. This is a ‘window allusion’, for O.’s language here simultaneously recalls his earlier allusion to the same Tibullan passage at *Tr.* 4.1.5 *hoc est cur cantet uinctus quoque compede fossor*. **haec facit ut**: cf. *Her.* 20.173 *hic facit ut*, *Met.* 14.374 *quae facit ut*. **uiuat** ‘goes on living’ (*OLD* 5a). **fossor**

quoque 'even the ditcher'; *quoque* marks an extreme case (OLD 4a). **liberaque a:** *liber* is much more commonly used with the simple ablative; with *ab* elsewhere in O. only at *F.* 5.707 *liber ab arboribus locus est*; cf. OLD *liber* 4. **ferro** = *compede*, as in Tibullus' couplet.

33–4 *haec facit ut* = 31; for the anaphora cf. 29n. **uideat cum terras undique nullas:** cf. *Tr.* 1.2.23 *quocumque aspicio, nihil est, nisi pontus et aër* and Luck *ad loc.* **mediis...aquis** in the same *sedes* also at *Tr.* 1.11.4, 4.8.18. **bracchia iactet:** O. first uses *bracchia iactare* of swimming here and at *Her.* 18.58, 96 (*Met.* 5.596 *bracchia iacto* refers only to flailing about in the water); cf. OLD *iacto* 7a. This usage may be added to those supporting a view that O. composed *Her.* 16–21 around the time of his exile; see Kenney 1995: 200. Later Lucan picks up the expression (3.651). This couplet recalls O.'s frequent metaphor of shipwreck for exile; cf. 1.2.60n.

35–6 An extreme case to illustrate a proverbial notion; cf. Cic. *Att.* 9.10.3 *ut aegroto, dum anima est, spes esse dicitur, sic ego... sperare non destiti*, Priap. 80.9 *dum uiuis, sperare decet*, Otto 1681.

sollers medicorum cura 'the skilful care of the doctors', i.e. the doctors themselves by metonymy (abstract for concrete); cf. *Her.* 1.104 *immundae cura fidelis harae* (= Eumaeus), L–S *cura* B.2. For *cura* as medical treatment cf. OLD 4a. **nec** 'but...not'; adversative, as often; cf. 1.1.25n. **uena** 'pulse' (OLD 2b), as at 1.3.10.

37–8 After three couplets with one *exemplum* each, O. varies the pattern by including two *exempla* in a single couplet. **carcere... clausi:** *clausus* with the simple ablative first at Virg. *Aen.* 6.734 *clausae...carcere caeco*; cf. *Met.* 4.663. **salutem** 'rescue', 'deliverance' (OLD 6a). **atque** 'and even' (OLD 4a); *atque aliquis* in this *sedes* also at *Am.* 2.1.7, 2.10.37, *Her.* 1.31, 2.83, 6.101.

pendens in cruce: *pendere in cruce* first here, then Man. 5.552, Mart. *Sp.* 7.4, etc. **uota facit** 'makes vows' in prayer to a divinity; the crucified man still hopes to survive and be able to fulfil them.

39–40 Suicide prevented by Spes concludes the *exempla* of her power and sets up the application to O. himself in 41–4. **haec dea** = 29. **laqueo sua colla ligantes:** cf. *Met.* 6.134 (Arachne)

laqueoque animosa ligauit | guttura, 10.378–9 (Myrrha) *laqueoque innectere fauces | destinat*, *Her.* 2.141–2, *Rem.* 17–18. The noose would be a means of suicide readily available to all; the upper classes preferred the sword. **proposita passa perire**: for the alliteration cf. 1.3.55 *campi cultore carentes*, 1.4.55 *Caesaribus cum coniuge Caesare digna*, *Met.* 1.56 *et cum fulminibus facientes fulgora uentos*.

41–2 O. now reveals that he himself is among those whom Spes saved from suicide; cf. 1.9.21–2 for his multiple attempts at suicide, prevented by Celsus; *Tr.* 1.5.5–6 *qui mihi consilium uiuendi mite dedisti, | cum foret in misero pectore mortis amor*. **me quoque** ‘even me’. This emphatic expression often follows a list of *exempla*, providing the climactic application to the speaker himself; cf. 1.4.19n., 3.2.15, *Tr.* 1.1.81, 3.11.29, 4.1.19, 5.3.27, etc. **gladio**: use of the sword befits O.’s near-senatorial rank. **finire dolorem**: cf. *Met.* 1.1.661 *nec finire licet tantos mihi morte dolores*. **arguit** ‘blamed’, ‘rebuked’ (*OLD* 6a); this sense derives from the term’s legal uses, ‘to prove someone wrong’, ‘to confute’ (*OLD* 5); cf. *Met.* 11.173 (*sententia*) *arguitur* ‘the verdict is challenged’. Spes challenges O.’s self-imposed death-sentence, as the next couplet confirms, in which she recommends that he appeal to the mercy of the judge. The language reflects O.’s predilection for legal terminology; see Kenney 1969. Many editors prefer the poorly attested variant *arquit*, though matched with *continuit* it is nearly tautological: ‘she prevented me and held me back’; cf. Helzle, Gaertner *ad loc.* **iniecta...manu**: Spes holds O. back by laying her hand upon him, but she also claims him as her own. The language alludes to the legal process of *manus iniectio*; cf. *OLD* *inicio* 6b, *Am.* 1.4.40 *et dicam ‘mea sunt’ iniciamque manum* and McKeown *ad loc.*

continuitque: the verb recurs in a related context at 1.9.22 (Celsus) *continuit promptas in mea fata manus*. For the postponement of *-que* cf. 1.4.54n.

43–4 ‘quid’que ‘facis?’: O. often inserts *-que* as a connective into the beginning of direct speech, and was apparently the first to do so; cf. *Tr.* 4.2.51, Kenney on *Her.* 17.159, McKeown on *Am.* 1.1.24. O. favours the indignant rhetorical question *quid facis?* at the beginning

of a line; cf. 4.3.29 *quid facis, a demens?*, McKeown on *Am.* 2.5.29.

flecti: for the metaphor cf. 1.2.118. **principis ira**: for Augustus' anger against O., cf. 1.1.49n.

45–6 *quamuis est*: for *quamuis* + indicative, cf. 1.1.15n.

indebita 'not owed', referring to *bonitas dei*; cf. *Her.* 16.19 *praemia magna quidem, sed non indebita posco*, where the adjective is in the same *sedes*. **spes est in** + ablative: a standard idiom (*OLD* *spes* 1c), returning *spes* to its ordinary use as an abstract noun.

bonitate 'kindness', 'benevolence' (*OLD* 1b). Rare in poetry after Plautus and Terence, *bonitas* is a standard characteristic of the gods in Cicero, e.g. *Inv.* 2.113 *deorum bonitatis praemium*. Gaertner suspects this couplet of being a Christian interpolation, but O. often reflects on the themes of divine forgiveness and his own unworthiness; cf. 1.1.57–66, 3.6.17–38, McGowan 2009: 55–61. *indebita* is unobjectionable, and its legal flavour (*OLD* 1a) is consistent with O.'s diction in general; cf. 41–2n. There is indeed a difference between the *magna...spes* asserted here and the less emphatic language of 27–8 *spes...non est ex toto nulla relictā*. This difference marks a shift in mood and rhetorical emphasis over the course of the poem. We should not expect rigid consistency in the degree of hope maintained by O., nor in the mood and tone of his poetry.

47–54 The final section, signalled by the vocative *Graecine* (47), returns to the theme of the first section, Graecinus' loyalty, but now in the context of an earnest appeal to him to intercede on the poet's behalf.

47–8 *difficilis*: of persons 'intractable', 'obdurate' (*OLD* 2a) like χαλεπός; cf. 2.2.20 *difficilem precibus te quoque iure meis*, *A. A.* 2.565–6 *nec Venus oranti (neque enim dea mollior ulla est) | rustica Gradiuo difficilisque fuit*, *Tib.* 1.9.20 *asperaque est illi difficilisque Venus*, and the common use of *facilis* 'propitious' of deities (*OLD* 9b). Augustus was in fact touchy and difficult in his late years – a fact that may have doomed such entreaties from the start. **confer... meum**: 'add also your words to my own prayer'; cf. 2.2.124 *adde sed et proprias ad mea uerba preces*, also near the end of a poem. For *conferre* in this sense (*OLD* 9a) cf. *Tr.* 3.5.29–30 *quaeque tibi*

linguae est facundia, confer in illud, | ut doceas uotum posse ualere meum.

49–50 ‘and may I lie buried in the sand of Tomis if it is clear that you do not make these prayers on my behalf’. This wish gains special force if one recalls the many passages in which O. expresses a wish not to be buried in exile; cf. 1.2.58n, 3.1.5–6 *an mihi barbaria uiuendum semper in ista, | inque Tomitana condar oportet humo?*

Tomitana: cf. 1.1.1n. **iaceam...si**: cf. 3.5.45–7 *peream...nisi*, *Her.* 17.183 *peream...si* and Kenney *ad loc.* **iaceam tumultus** recalls epitaphs; cf. *Tr.* 3.3.73 *hic ego qui iaceo*, *Tib.* 1.3.55 *hic iacet immitti consumptus morte Tibullus*. *CE* 1361.2 *hic tumultata iacet* echoes the present passage (see Introduction 26–7). **harena**: cf. *Met.* 7.361 *parua tumultus harena est*. **uouere** picks up *uotum* (48).

51–4 The *adynaton* is a favourite figure of O.’s, especially in the exilic poetry; Helzle *ad loc.* lists 8× *Ex P.*, 6× *Tr.*, 1× *Ibis*; by contrast 1× *F.*, 3× *Met.*; see Davisson 1980–1. Most are of the type seen here: *prius* (*ante*, *citius*) + future indicative...*quam* + present subjunctive. All the *adynata* in the *Ex P.* are on the same theme of loyalty in friendship; cf. 2.4.25–9, 2.7.25–30, 2.11.5–8, 3.3.95–8, 4.5.41–4, 4.6.45–50, 4.12.33–6. The *adynaton* of 4.6 concludes the poem as here; three others form part of a final appeal (2.4, 3.3, 4.5).

51–2 *turres* ‘dovecotes’ (*OLD* 1b); cf. *Tr.* 1.9.7–8, *Met.* 4.48.

antra ferae: cf. 1.3.41–2n. *adsueta leones...antra petunt*.

mergus ‘diver’; for the etymology of the bird’s name from *mergere*, cf. *Met.* 11.795 *aequor amat, nomenque tenet, quia mergitur illo*.

53–4 *quam male se praestet ueteri Graecinus amico* ‘than that Graecinus should show himself unfriendly to an old friend’. For *se praestare* + adverb in a related context cf. *Tr.* 4.5.23–4 *teque, quod est rarum, praesta constanter ad omne | indeclinatae munus amicitiae* ‘show yourself firm (a rare thing) for every service of unwavering friendship’. *praestare* is a favourite word of O.’s (59×); see McKeown on *Am.* 1.8.105. **non ita sunt fatis omnia uersa meis** ‘not to that extent (*OLD ita* 13a) has everything been altered by my fate’. **uersa** denotes cataclysmic change (*OLD* 22a). At 2.4.30

a pentameter of similar stamp also immediately follows the *adynaton* (25–9), *non ita pars fati candida nulla mei est*; cf. *Tr.* 5.6.23 *non adeo toti fatis urgemur iniquis*, 5.13.24 *non ita sunt fati stamina nigra mei* (following an *adynaton* in 21–3).

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.7**

O. addresses 1.7 and 2.2 to M. Valerius Messalla Messalinus, orator and soldier, consul in 3 BCE, eldest son of Messalla Corvinus and brother of the much younger Cotta Maximus, one of O.'s closest friends (see the headnote to 1.5; for Messalinus see Syme 1978: 117–18, 121–5). Many believe that *Tr.* 4.4 is also addressed to him (see Syme 1978: 122); certainly there are notable recollections of that poem in this (cf. 27–8, 39–40, 47–8nn.). After his consulship he served as legate of Tiberius in Illyricum (6 CE), but his military career receives little attention in O.'s letters, which emphasize the eminence of his family, his closeness to the powerful, and (in 2.2) his eloquence. Decades earlier, Tibullus had celebrated Messalinus' induction as one of the *quindecimviri sacris faciundis*, the priestly college entrusted with the care of the Sibylline books (*Tib.* 2.5, dated to 21 or 20 BCE by Syme 1978: 118).

In both 1.7 and 2.2 O. tries to make the best of his weak, distant and troubled acquaintance with Messalinus, both claiming a connection of friendship and fearing that Messalinus will deny it. He bolsters his claim on Messalinus' attention by relying on his close friendship with Cotta Maximus and on the support that he once enjoyed from the brothers' revered father, the late Messalla Corvinus. O.'s much stronger bond with father and brother is confirmed in 2.3, addressed to Cotta, in which O. recalls that Messalla first urged him to bring his poetry before the public, mentions that Messalinus 'cannot remember when I first began to honour him', and then admits that in fact Cotta was his sole source of favour:

me tuus ille pater, Latiae facundia linguae
quoi non inferior nobilitate fuit,
primus, ut auderem committere carmina famae,
impulit: ingenii dux fuit ille mei.

nec, quo sit primum nobis a tempore cultus,
contendo fratrem posse referre tuum.
te tamen ante omnis ita sum complexus, ut unus
quolibet in casu gratia nostra fores.

(2.3.75–82)

The only real claim that O. has on Messalinus is likely to be that he is his brother's friend (1.7.60 *fratris amicus*).

In the first of the poem's four sections (1–16), O. allows the place from which he writes to identify him, and expresses the hope that no one else of those who cultivate and honour Messalinus may suffer the miseries of such a place. Next (17–38), having asserted some claim to his addressee's friendship, he doubts whether Messalinus will acknowledge it. He grasps at any connection to him, while admitting that scarcely any may exist. The reader may find this passage disorienting, for O. repeatedly alters the claim put forward. Indeed, between 35 and 44 each couplet begins with a disjunctive connective of some kind – 'if not', 'but not', 'and nevertheless', 'but unless' – breaking off and redirecting the course of the argument. In 39–52 O. returns to a familiar topic, the nature of his misdeed. Though his fall was grievous, his misdeed was not, as is demonstrated by Augustus' relative leniency towards him. Consequently, in the last section (53–70) O. concludes that Messalinus has nothing to fear from acknowledging his friendship.

In its abrupt shifts, reversals and inconsistencies, this elegy recalls Tibullan elegy, which is often characterized by an unpredictable and disjunctive texture. The abrupt style, so well suited to the anxious and desperate condition of the elegiac lover, serves O.'s purpose here to express anxiety and desperation of a different sort. His painfully uncertain and ill-defined relationship is with a powerful *amicus* rather than a beloved. O. may be looking back to the influences of his youth as he provides this elegy's compliments to Messala Corvinus, patron of Tibullus and the young O., with a stylistic context that is sometimes reminiscent of that earlier time.

1–16 In this grimly playful opening, O. initially withholds his identity, allowing the place from which he writes to identify him. For does any other of Messalinus' friends lie at the remotest edge of the world? He then returns to the familiar exilic theme of *asperitas loci* (cf. 1.2.13–26n.) reminding Messalinus of his woes by way of praying that only he, of Messalinus' many *cultores*, experience such misery. This passage recalls the opening of 1.2, where O. similarly hesitated to identify himself, fearing an unwelcome reception for his letter from its addressee, Maximus; cf. 1.2.5–12n. 3.5(6).1–4 recalls the present passage. Addressing Messalinus' brother Cotta, O. imagines him wondering where the letter comes from, allows the place to identify the author, and, as here, withholds his name until the fourth line:

Quam legis, unde tibi mittatur epistula, quaeris?
 hinc, ubi caeruleis iungitur Hister aquis.
 ut regio dicta est, succurrere debet et auctor,
 laesus ab ingenio Naso poeta suo.

1–2 *Littera pro uerbis*: for a letter as a conversation with an absent person, cf. 1.2.6n. The singular *littera* for plural *litterae* = *epistula* is an innovation of O.'s for metrical convenience; cf. 1.9.4, *Am.* 1.12.2, 2.18.33, *Her.* 3.1, 6.9, etc., Galasso on 2.7.1.

salutem...attulit recalls the formulaic *salutem dicit* of a prose letter; cf. 3.5(6).5 *afferre salutem*, 1.3.1 *mittit...salutem*. **quam legis**: O.'s epistolary elegies regularly feature this or a similar expression in the opening couplet; cf. 3.2.1–2 *Quam legis a nobis missam tibi, Cotta, salutem*, 3.5(6).1 cited above, *Tr.* 5.7.1 *Quam legis, ex illa tibi uenit epistula terra*, *Her.* 3.1 *Quam legis, a rapta Briseide littera uenit*, 10.3 *quae legis*. **a saeuis...usque Getis** 'all the way from the savage Getae' (*OLD* *usque* 1d); cf. 4.2.1–2 *Quod legis...uenit ab intonsis usque, Seuere, Getis*.

3–4 *indicat auctorem locus*: an opening formula would normally identify a letter's author explicitly (e.g. *Cicero Attico salutem*). O. sometimes follows that tradition, e.g. 1.1.1 *Naso Tomitanae iam non nouus incola terrae*, *Her.* 1.1 *Haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit*,

Vlixē. At *Ex P.* 2.10.1–8 he playfully doubts whether his addressee, Macer, could identify him by the *imago* impressed by O.'s seal-ring or by his handwriting; see Galasso *ad loc.* **locus**: the 'savage Getae' of the preceding line are meant to signify their location.

an...haec me Nasonem scribere uerba latet? 'or is it hidden that I, Naso, am writing these words?' The impersonal use of *latet* with accusative and infinitive is first attested here (*OLD* 6b); cf. 4.13.6 *non latet esse meam*. **nisi nomine lecto** 'unless you have read the name'. The expression and context recall 1.2.7–8 *uereor ne nomine lecto | durus et auersa cetera mente legas*. As in that poem, the larger readership of *Ex P.* 1–3 will observe an ironic distance between the addressee and themselves, who are well aware that O. is the author.

5–6 in *extremo...orbe* 'at the farthest edge of the world'; cf. 1.3.49n. *orbis in extremi iaceo desertus harenis*. **me tamen excepto** 'except me (despite everything one might expect)'. *tamen* marks the participle as concessive, also implying that the question begun in *ecquis...tuorum* is the rhetorical equivalent of a strong denial: *none* of Messalinus' friends lies at the farthest edge of the world, yet O. is an exception; cf. *OLD* 4, *Met.* 8.868 *me tamen excepto*, *Cic. Fam.* 7.21 *te tamen excepto*, *Am.* 1.8.20 *nec tamen eloquio lingua nocente caret* and McKeown *ad loc.* **qui precor esse tuus** 'who pray that I am your friend'. O. often uses *precor* with an object clause, only here with infinitive + nominative; cf. *OLD* 1d. O. begins the couplet by identifying himself as one of Messalinus' friends, but ends it by praying that this be the case. The placement of *tuorum* and *tuus* at the end of their respective lines emphasizes the inconsistency. Indeed this couplet compactly and expressively introduces the letter's theme: the ill-defined status of O.'s relationship with his addressee.

7–8 'May the gods be willing to keep awareness of this people far from all who revere and love you!' **di...uelint**: the periodic sentence-structure encloses the couplet. **notitiam**: an example of O.'s willingness to use 'prosaic' vocabulary where it expresses his meaning precisely (see Kenney 2002: 36n.57): 11× O. (5× *Ex P.*, 2× *Trist.*), 5× *Lucr.*, never in *Virg.*, *Hor.*, *Tib.*, *Prop.*; in poetry before *Lucr.*

only at Ter. *Haut.* 53. **huius...gentis** refers back to *saevis...Getis* (2); for *huius*, largely avoided in poetry, cf. 1.2.100n. **habere** ‘to keep’, ‘to hold’ (OLD 15b); cf. 3.2.44 *quos procul a uobis...habet*.

9–10 nos both stands in opposition to *cunctis* in the preceding line and sets up the contrast with *cetera...turba* (15). For the threefold anaphora beginning successive couplets, cf. 1.6.29–34. The following description of O.’s miseries, extending to three couplets, provides an ironic intensification of *notitiam* ‘awareness’ (8).

Scythicasque sagittas: for the danger of arrows, cf. 1.1.79n. **si uita est mortis habenda genus** ‘if life must be considered a kind of death’, an ironic comment on *uiuere*. Once O.’s initial assertion registers on the reader’s mind – *nos satis est...uiuere* ‘it is enough that I live’ – the added protasis qualifies the meaning of *uiuere*, indeed identifying the term paradoxically with its opposite. For another disintegrative witticism of this kind, also achieved by addition of a protasis, cf. *Met.* 8.782–3 on Erysichthon’s punishment: *moliturque genus poenae miserabile, si non | ille suis esset nulli miserabilis actis* ‘(Ceres) contrives a pitiable kind of punishment – pitiable, that is, if he were not pitiable to no one because of his deeds.’

11–12 premat ‘afflict’ (OLD 8a); cf. Sen. *Dial.* 1.4.14 (imitating this passage and O.’s others on this theme) *perpetua illos hiemps, triste caelum premit*. **aut...aut**: used to introduce one or more possibilities, only one of which is envisaged as occurring at a given time (OLD 3). **frigore caelum**: cf. *Tr.* 5.2.65 *numquam sine frigore caelum*. **Getes**: collective singular; cf. 1.2.76 *finitimo...Getae*.

pugnet first serves as verb for *Getes* in a literal sense, then *hiems* in a metaphorical one. The shift, a variety of syllepsis, is characteristic of Ovidian wit, however grim its context here. For a related use of *pugnare*, cf. 1.2.25–6 *hic me pugnantem cum frigore cumque sagittis | cumque meo fato quarta fatigat hiems*.

13–14 regio nec pomo feta nec uuis: cf. 1.3.51n. *non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas*. **feta** ‘fertile’ (OLD 3b); cf. *F.* 4.88 *fetaque terra patet*. **et cuius nullum cesset ab hoste latus** ‘and no side of which is free from an enemy’. The relative clause is parallel to the adjective *feta*; the subjunctive is consecutive-generic.

For *latus* in a related context, cf. 1.3.57–8 *hostis adest dextra laeuaque a parte timendus | uicinoque metu terret utrumque latus*.

15–16 *cultorum...tuorum* = *qui te uenerantur amantque* (7). **in quibus, ut populo** ‘among whom, as among a host’; in prose the preposition would be repeated with *populo* (K–S 1 580–1). **pars ego parua fui**: an inversion of Virg. *Aen.* 2.6 *quorum pars magna fui*; cf. *Tr.* 2.157–8 *per patriam...* | *cuius, ut in populo, pars ego nuper eram*, 4.2.16 *paruaque cuius eram pars ego nuper eques*. For the alliteration cf. 1.6.39–40n.

17–38 Having just claimed to be among Messalinus’ *cultores*, O. now backs away from this assertion, acknowledging that it may be false and that Messalinus may deny any connection. He will be satisfied if Messalinus does not deny that his house was open to O. and admits that their acquaintance may not have amounted to more. He emphasizes that Messalinus’ father and brother never denied being his friends and supporters. No sooner does he assert the friendship of Cotta Maximus than he draws back from the claim, adding a condition, ‘yet only if you suppose these words will not harm him’ (34). Better that the whole house be closed to him; but that ought not to be the case, since no power – not even presumably Cotta’s – can prevent a friend from doing wrong.

17–18 *me miserum*: used 45× by O. (McKeown on *Am.* 1.1.25), nearly always in this *sedes*. **offenderis** ‘take offence at’ (*OLD* 7b); in the exilic poetry the verb is usually used of offence to Augustus, e.g. 1.10.42, 2.3.62 (Helzle). **ulla parte** ‘in any respect’, ‘at all’, an adverbial expression first attested in O.; cf. *TLL* x 456.51–4, *Tr.* 3.4.42, *Her.* 20.4. For similar expressions cf. 35n. *hac...parte* ‘in this respect’; 2.6.20 *nulla parte* ‘in no respect’ = 3.1.100, 4.4.6, *Her.* 7.110.

19–20 *ut* ‘even though’, conceding the point for the argument’s sake (*OLD* 35b); cf. *Her.* 17.121 *utque sit hoc uerum*. **mentito**: sc. *mihi*; cf. 35 *hac quoque me mendacem parte fatebor*. **gloria nostra** ‘my boast’ to have been among Messalinus’ *cultores*.

21–2 *Caesaribus*: cf. 1.4.55 *Caesaribus cum coniuge Caesare digna*, 2.8.4 *Caesaribus Liuia iuncta suis*. The dative is to be taken

with both *notus* and *amicum*. **da ueniam fasso** ‘pardon one who confesses’ = 4.2.23; cf. *Her.* 4.156 *da ueniam fassae* = 17.225, 19.4; all in this *sedes*. **tu mihi Caesar eras** ‘you were (always) a Caesar to me’ and so by implication a friend. The expression recalls the words of O.’s wife at *Tr.* 1.3.85–6 *te iubet e patria discedere Caesaris ira, | me pietas. pietas haec mihi Caesar erit*. Gaertner wrongly deletes this couplet on the grounds that ‘*nil demit laudi gloria nostra tuae* (1.7.20) already provides a reason why Messalinus should excuse Ovid’s boasting, and the second explanation that people tend to exaggerate their links to great men...follows unconnectedly.’ In fact it follows naturally from the preceding couplet, expanding upon O.’s ‘boast’ (*gloria nostra*). Explaining that his attempt to invent a relationship of *amicitia* with the Caesars is what anyone would do, if known to them at all, O. boldly identifies Messalinus as a Caesar ‘to me’, thereby reasserting his *amicitia* with Messalinus. The language and idiom are Ovidian, as is the condensed form of expression.

23–4 *quo non licet ire*: i.e. the private rooms of a *domus*, lying beyond the *fauces* (entryway) and the *atrium*. **satisque est, [...si]**: cf. 1.5.56n. *satis est si* = 65, 1.8.4 *sat est...si*, *Tr.* 1.1.55, 5.7.68.

atria: the central courtyard where a patrician received his clients and *amici*; cf. 4.4.27, where O. imagines the courtyard of Sextus Pompeius nearly bursting with the crowd on the occasion of his assuming the consulship, *cernere iam uideor rumpi paene atria turba*. The plural-for-singular is required by the metre (*atrium* being admissible only by the rare licence of eliding a semi-cretic; see Platnauer 1951: 73, Kenney 1967: 327).

25–6 ‘and though you had nothing more to do with me, yet the fact remains that you are greeted by one voice less than formerly’.

utque: for *ut* concessive, cf. 19n. **tibi...amplius**: cf. 1.5.39n. *nil sibi cum pelagi dicit fore naufragus undis*. **nempe**: OLD 1d; a term at home in elegy and satire rather than the loftier genres; 32× in O. (Bömer on *Met.* 2.664). **salutaris** refers to the *salutatio matutina*, at which clients gathered in a patrician’s *atrium* to greet him; cf. Virg. *G.* 2.461–2 *ingentem foribus domus alta superbis | mane salutantum*

totis uomit aedibus undam. **ore** 'voice', as often (OLD 2a); cf. *Her.* 7.101 *ego me sensi noto quater ore citari*.

27–8 This couplet recalls *Tr.* 4.4.27–8 (thought by many to be addressed to Messalinus) *nam tuus est primis cultus mihi semper ab annis* – | *hoc certe noli dissimulare* – *pater.* **tuus...genitor**: Messalla Corvinus; see headnote. **hortator studii causaque faxque mei** 'encourager, cause and instigator of my pursuit'.

hortator: cf. 4.12.23 (to Tuticanus) *tu bonus hortator, tu duxque comesque fuisti*, *Tr.* 4.2.32 *hortator pugnae*, *Cic. de Orat.* 1.234 *eius studi...hortator*. **causa** + objective genitive: often of persons (OLD 9e); cf. *Am.* 2.6.10 *causa doloris Itys*, *Her.* 1.16, *Rem.* 155.

faxque: the metaphor is of a torch used to kindle a fire (OLD 8a). 27 pointedly invites recollection of 18 *nosque negas ulla parte fuisse tuos*. *Mart.* 9.84.7–8 imitates the present passage: *o quotiens ueterem non infitiatus amicum | dixisti 'meus est iste poeta, meus!'*

29–30 *lacrimas, supremum in funere munus* 'tears, a final tribute at his funeral'; cf. 1.9.41 *lacrimas Celso libamus adempto*, *Met.* 2.340–1 *inania morti | munera dant lacrimas*, *Virg. Aen.* 11.25–6 *supremis | muneribus*, *Catul.* 101.3 *ut te postremo donarem munere mortis*. **dedimus medio scripta canenda foro** 'I contributed verses (lit. writings) to be sung in the midst of the forum', referring to a *nenia* sung in praise of the deceased at his funeral; cf. 1.9.43 *carmina iure damus raros testantia mores*. Messalla is thought to have died shortly before O.'s banishment; see Syme 1978: 123–5.

scripta canenda: a remarkable expression, almost paradoxical. Though all Augustan poetry is written, whether meant to be read, recited or sung, a fiction of orality would normally be maintained for poetry to be actually sung, as well as for the lyric and epic genres; to admit the written character of such poetry is unusual. Also in the *Met.* O. plays with the distinction, introducing written communication into the tale of Byblis, for instance, while maintaining a 'rhapsodic simulation' or notional orality in presenting his work; see Wheeler 1999: 34–65.

31–2 *adde quod*: lit. 'add the fact that', a transitional formula; cf. 1.2.23n. **frater**: Cotta Maximus, one of O.'s most loyal friends; see 1.5 headnote. **tanto...amore, | quantus**: the same correlative

adjectives recur in a similar context at 2.4.21–2 (to Atticus) *denique tantus amor nobis, carissime, semper, | quantus in Aeacide Nestorideque fuit*. **Atridis Tyndaridisque**: the sons of Tyndareus, Castor and Pollux, are standard *exempla* of fraternal affection, and the story of the latter's request that he be allowed to share his immortality with the former, his mortal brother, is known since Pind. *Nem.* 10.73–90; cf. *Tr.* 4.5.29 *diligat et semper socius te sanguinis illo, | quo pius affectu Castora frater amat*. O. here is the first to cite the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon and Menelaus, as *exempla* of the same affection, evidently following Homer's portrayal. Agamemnon's distress, for instance, at the wounding of Menelaus and his words to his 'dear brother' (*Il.* 4.155, 189) as well as the latter's encouraging reply (183–7) make clear their bond. Later Mart. 7.24.5–6 cites both pairs of brothers together in imitation of the present passage, and Plutarch includes mention of Agamemnon in his treatise *On brotherly affection* (*Mor.* 482F).

33–4 *dedignatus...est* 'despised', 'scorned', always in litotes with a negative in O., except once; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.10.63. First attested at Virg. *Aen.* 4.536, the verb occurs only there before O., who uses it 11×. 33 recalls 27 in language and expression, making the same point about Cotta that 27 made about his father. **si... putas** 'yet only if you suppose that these words will not harm him'.

si tamen: an expression used to qualify or revise a statement just made; cf. *OLD si* 8b, *Met.* 10.322–3 *scelerique resistite nostro, | si tamen hoc scelus est*. **haec**: i.e. the content of the hexa-meter. O. allows Messalinus to judge whether the fact of his friendship with Cotta can safely be admitted. **non nocitura putas**: cf. 2.2.125 *sic tamen haec tempta, si non nocitura putabis*.

35–6 *si minus* 'if not' (*OLD si* 7b), a prosaic expression, used once by Prop. (4.4.57), otherwise avoided by poets except O. (10×); see McKeown on *Am.* 1.4.68. **hac...fatebor** 'in this respect also I will admit to being a liar', referring back to 19 *mentito ignoscere debes*. O. offers to deny his friendship with Cotta in order to protect him. The irony is that this friendship – unlike O.'s with Messalinus – is well known and undeniable, not least to the reader of *Ex P.* 1–3, who has already encountered 1.5, addressed to Cotta. **hac...**

parte: cf. 18n. *ulla parte*. **clausa...domus** resumes the description of O.'s relationship with Messalinus in terms of access to his house (23–4), though now by *domus* is meant the entire family of the Messallae.

37–8 ‘but it ought not to be closed to me, and no power on earth has the strength to guarantee that a friend will not do some wrong’. This couplet abruptly rejects the supposition, just aired, that harm may result from acknowledging O.'s friendship; in fact the Messallae cannot be held responsible for any misdeed of O.'s. **potentia:** a favourite word of O.'s (25×); see McKeown on *Am.* 2.16.27.

praestandi: another favourite of O.'s (59×; cf. 1.6.53n.); with a final noun clause (*OLD* 12b) also at 2.9.79–80, *F.* 1.288, 4.149–50, *Her.* 18.89–90. The term has a legal flavour; see Berger 1953: 646.

39–52 Use of the word *peccet* at 38 now prompts a discussion of the nature of O.'s misdeed – a recurring topic, recently touched upon in the previous letter; cf. 1.6.19–26n. As there, he admits to *culpa*, not *facinus*. Augustus himself saw that ‘folly’, *stultitia*, fits the case; hence his relative leniency towards O. Though O. regards his fall as grievous, his misdeed was not. The passage sets up a strong conclusion: Augustus’ relatively merciful judgment shows that Messalinus has no reason to reject the poet (53–4). O. earlier made a similar case at *Tr.* 4.4.43–6, a passage he echoes here; many believe that that letter also is addressed to Messalinus. For the terms used of O.'s misdeed, see McGowan 2009: 41–55.

39–40 ‘and nevertheless, while I might have desired that even my fault could be denied, at the same time everyone knows that crime is far from me’. **ut...sic:** both expression and content recall 1.6.25 *quidquid id est, ut non facinus, sic culpa uocanda est*, *Tr.* 4.4.43–4 *ergo ut iure damus poenas, sic auit omne | peccato facinus consiliumque meo*; cf. 1.6.25–6n. **cuperem:** potential subjunctive, not dependent on *ut*. **posse negari:** an expression of the courts (Scholte); cf. Cic. *S. Rosc.* 86 *quid ergo horum negari potest?*, *Ver.* 1.12 *id quod negari non potest*, etc. O. addresses similar language to Messalinus at 2.2.101–2 *nec tu potes ipse negare | et nos in turbae parte fuisse tuae*; cf. *Her.* 20.18 *non potes hoc factum teste negare dea*. For O.'s legal vocabulary in general, see Kenney 1969.

facinus...mihi: cf. *Tr.* 1.2.98 *a culpa facinus scitis abesse mea. nemo nescit:* litotes, strongly affirmative.

41–2 ‘but unless part of my misdeed were excusable, to be relegated would have been a small penalty’. **delicti:** more shortcoming or failing than crime; see Owen on *Tr.* 2.578, McGowan 2009: 42–3. **excusabilis:** first attested here; cf. 3.9.33, 4.11.1, all in this sedes; Linse 1891: 37. O. favours adjectives in *-bilis*; cf. 1.3.25n. **relegari:** for the infinitive as subject cf. *Met.* 2.483 *posse loqui eripitur* and Bömer *ad loc.* The technical term for O.’s sentence, *relegatio* differed from *exilium* in that it did not bring with it loss of citizenship and confiscation of property. O. uses *relegari* here because he is about to emphasize Augustus’ mercy; cf. 4.15.2 *relegatus Naso, Tr.* 2.135–7 *adde quod edictum, quamuis immite minaxque, | attamen in poenae nomine lene fuit: | quippe relegatus, non exul, dicor in illo.* He often calls himself *exul* as well; cf. 1.2.109.

futura fuit = *fuisset* (K–S || 402); cf. Livy 2.1.4 *quid enim futurum fuit, si illa pastorum conuenarumque plebs...agitari coepta esset...?*

43–4 *hoc* anticipates the indirect statement in the pentameter.

uidit...peruidet: O. much favours repetition of a simple verb in compound form; see Wills 1996: 443–5. **qui peruidet omnia, Caesar:** O. several times attributes omniscience to Augustus, implicitly identifying him with Jupiter; cf. 4.9.126 *nil illi, toto quod fit in orbe, latet.* For a paradoxical instance, cf. 1.2.71–2n. *nescit enim Caesar, quamuis deus omnia norit, | ultimus hic qua sit condicione locus.* *peruidet* is the reading of B before correction, *prouidet* after; *praeuidet* is the reading of A and other MSS; cf. 1.8.34n. Abbreviation of the prefix probably accounts for the variety of readings. *peruidet* suits both this context and that of 1.8.34; for the expression cf. *Met.* 14.375 *qui peruidet omnia Solem* (where *praeuidet* and *prouidet* are also attested). **stultitiam** ‘folly’; cf. *Tr.* 1.2.100 *stultaque mens nobis, non scelerata fuit, 3.6.35 stultitiamque meum crimen debere uocari.* O.’s misdeed progressively diminishes from *culpa* (39) to *delictum* (41) to *stultitia*.

45–6 *quaque* ‘and to the extent that’; cf. 1.6.10n. **res** ‘circumstances’, ‘the state of affairs’ (OLD 17a). **pepercit:** sc. *mihi Caesar.* **usus...sui** ‘and he used the flame of his thunderbolt

moderately'. **et** is often postponed to second position in its clause; see Platnauer 1951: 94. **modice**: at 1.2.126 Augustus throws thunderbolts 'infrequently, with an unwilling hand' *et iacit inuita fulmina rara manu*; yet it is hard to imagine how the flame of a thunderbolt could be used 'moderately'. The reader may be uncomfortably reminded of Jupiter's attempt to avoid incinerating Semele by lessening his violent impact – *Met.* 3.302 *qua tamen usque potest, uires sibi demere temptat* – and choosing his *leuius fulmen* (305). For O.'s identification of Augustus with Jupiter, often with his thunderbolt, and the 'bitter irony' that results, see Kenney 1992: xvi.

47–8 *nec uitam nec opes...ademit*: the relatively mild terms are those of *relegatio*; cf. 41–2n. The line is modelled on *Tr.* 5.11.15 *nec uitam nec opes nec ius mihi ciuis ademit*. **posse reuerti**: *posse* regularly serves as object, as here (*Met.* 11.177 *dat posse moueri*) or subject (*Met.* 2.483 *posse loqui eripitur*); cf. *Met.* 14.100 *posse queri tantum rauco stridore reliquit*. For *adimere* + object-infinitive, cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.19.9 *adimam cantare seueris*. **si...preces** is added on as a conditional qualification of *nec ademit posse reuerti*, as if the terms of O.'s relegation included not only retention of *uita* and *opes* but also possible recall to Rome 'if his anger should be vanquished by your entreaties'. O. is straining to attribute as much influence as possible to Messalinus and his family. **per**: instrumental (*OLD* 14a, K–S | 556–7); cf. *Pl. Cist.* 302 *ores blande per precem*. **uestras**: of Messalinus and his family; cf. 1.2.66n. **ira**: for *ira Caesaris* cf. 1.1.49n. This couplet is a condensed revision of *Tr.* 4.4.45–7 *nec lumen ademptum | nec mihi detractas possidet alter opes. | forsitan hanc ipsam, uiuam modo, finiet olim, | tempore cum fuerit lenior ira, fugam*.

49–52 are a parenthetical comment intended to forestall misunderstanding. In the preceding passage O. has been at pains to emphasize the leniency of Augustus. How, one may suppose, is that emphasis consistent with his typical portrayal of his punishment as extreme and severe? The answer, referring back to Augustus' 'moderate' use of the thunderbolt (46), is that anyone struck by it will be severely wounded, whether it was used moderately or not.

Likewise the impact of Achilles' spear was grievous even if the hero restrained his strength. Gaertner deletes the lines because of their parenthetical nature: the next couplet (53–4) returns to the theme of Augustus' leniency and so 'would follow far better after 1.7.48', i.e. immediately after. One ought not, however, to expect invariably smooth transitions in Roman elegy, especially in a poem that reflects Tibullan style. The lines are appropriate to their context; their style and expression are unobjectionable, and the wound-imagery is characteristic of O.'s exilic poetry.

49–50 *at grauitur cecidi* 'yet I suffered a grievous fall', i.e. despite the leniency just attributed to Augustus. The verb *cadere* is often used of suffering calamity (*OLD* 11a); also relevant here may be the legal sense 'to lose one's case' (*OLD* 11b). **quid...mirabile, si** 'what wonder is it, if' = *quid mirum...si* (3.3.63–4, *F.* 6.289, [Ov.] *Ep. Sapph.* 85). **percussus**: sc. by Jupiter's thunderbolt, picking up 46 *fulminis igne*; cf. *Tr.* 3.5.5–7 *ut cecidi...ausus es igne louis percussum tangere corpus*, 5.3.31 *percussum fulmine uatem*, etc.

51–2 'even should Achilles himself restrain his strength, his spear of Pelion, once hurled, would give grievous blows'. **inhiberet**: for the ellipse of *si* in a protasis with the imperfect subjunctive, cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.30–1 *tu quoque magnam | partem opere in tanto, sineret dolor, Icare, haberes*, K–S || 166. In the present case the protasis is virtually a concessive clause; hence the indicative *dabat* (K–S || 401–2). **ictus** can refer to wounds caused by blows (*OLD* 3). **Pelias hasta**: a favourite expression of O.'s, always in this *sedes* (2.2.26, *Her.* 3.126, *A. A.* 1.696, *Rem.* 48) except *Met.* 13.109. He adapted it from Homer's Πηλιᾶς...μελίη (*Il.* 20.277, etc.). Chiron brought the spear to Achilles' father from the summit of Pelion 'to be death to heroes' (*Il.* 16.143–4); only Achilles could wield it (141–2). For O.'s predilection for Greek feminine adjectives in *-ias*, see Kenney 1996: 249; 1999.

53–70 O.'s concluding appeal to Messalinus shifts rapidly in topic, tone and manner of approach to the addressee. Because, he claims, he is not in serious disfavour with Augustus, O. asserts that Messalinus' door has no reason to deny acquaintance with him, then admits that he attended it less than he ought; but then again he

attended no other house more. That observation facilitates another reference to Cotta Maximus. Not only does his brother's friend have some claim on Messalinus, his ethical duty does as well, and O. next sternly instructs Messalinus on his obligations. He ends with an imperative: 'if you do not grieve that Naso suffers misfortunes, yet grieve that he has deserved them' – an assertive and demanding mode of admitting guilt.

53–4 resume the topic of Augustus' leniency (43–8). **nobis...** **adsit**: both 'is on my side' (*OLD adsum* 11c) and 'is present to assist me', as if in court (*OLD* 12). The legal flavour of *adesse* is appropriate to the subject *iudicium* 'judgment'; cf. *A. A.* 3.531 *ius qui profitebitur, adsit*. **cum**: for postponement of *cum*, cf. 1.1.40n.

uindicis 'punisher' (*OLD* 3a); cf. *A. A.* 3.323 *uindex iustissime matris* (Amphion). **non...neget** 'there is no reason why your door should refuse to acknowledge me'. **ianua**: personified, as often in amatory elegy; cf. *Am.* 1.8.77 *surda sit oranti tua ianua, laxa ferenti*, 3.1.46 *haec est blanditiis ianua laxa meis*. Again the language is of access to a Roman house; cf. 23–4, 35–6nn. **neget**: the oldest MSS (ABC) read *negat*, and O. sometimes uses the indicative in an indirect question (cf. 1.8.25n.), but this construction requires the subjunctive (*neget* m); cf. *Her.* 10.144 *non tamen est cur sis tu mihi causa necis*, K–S || 278–9.

55–6 *culta* 'attended to', 'resorted to' (*OLD* 7a). At 2.3.79–80, addressed to Cotta, O. uses the same verb in a related context, contending that Messalinus cannot recall the time of O.'s first attentions to him: *nec quo sit primum nobis a tempore cultus | contendo fratrem posse referre tuum*. As here, mention of his stronger friendship with Cotta follows (see headnote). **quidem** 'to be sure', marking a contrast between this clause and the next, introduced by *sed* (*OLD quidem* 3a). **fateor**: parenthetical; cf. 1.2.69n. *confiteor*. **citra quam** 'less than', a usage first attested at *A. A.* 3.757; see Gibson *ad loc.* **illa**: resumptive, as often; cf. 1.5.14n. **in fatis...meis** 'among my misfortunes'; cf. *Tr.* 3.2.1 *ergo erat in fatis Scythiam quoque uisere nostris*, *F.* 1.481 *sic erat in fatis*. The point is not so much to decline responsibility as to ascribe this admitted failure of O.'s to bad luck: he was doomed to be negligent

in this respect as in others. **credō**: parenthetical, as at *Met.* 9.611. For the shortening of o cf. 1.2.41n. *putō*, Platnauer 1951: 51–2.

57–8 *officium* ‘service’, ‘attention’, reflecting also the use of the term for a ceremonial visit of client to patron (*OLD* 2a). **sensit** ‘had experience of’, ‘enjoyed’ (*OLD* 4a). **domus altera** ‘another house’, i.e. any other than that of the Messallae. **hic illic** ‘here and there’, i.e. both at Tomis and at Rome, wherever O. happened to be; cf. *Met.* 7.581 *hic illic, ubi mors deprenderat, exhalantes*. **uestro sub Lare** ‘under the protection of your Lar’, i.e. that of the Messallae as a family; cf. 1.1.10 *sub lare priuato*.

59–60 *quaeque tua est pietas* ‘such is your sense of loyalty’ = 2.2.21 (in the same *sedes*, also to Messalinus). The loosely connected relative clause (*OLD qui* 12a, K–S II 314) is a Ciceronian idiom (*Fam.* 7.2.1 *qui meus in te amor est*, 7.13.1 *quae tua gloria est*, *Cael.* 45 *quae uestra prudentia est*), used also by Horace (*S.* 1.9.54 *quae tua uirtus*) and O.; cf. *Her.* 1.75 *quae uestra libido est* and Knox *ad loc.*, *Met.* 5.373 *quae iam patientia nostra est*, and the similar idiom *quaque est pietate* (*Ex P.* 1.9.27). **ut**: concessive; cf. 19n. **excolat** picks up 55 *culta...est* and its context, O.’s admission of inadequate attention to Messalinus. **ius...habet** ‘your brother’s friend has some claim on you’, O.’s plea *in nuce*; cf. *Tr.* 4.10.46 *iure sodalicij, quo mihi iunctus erat*.

61–6 Mention of Messalinus’ sense of duty (59 *pietas*) is not simple flattery, for O. follows it with a stern reminder of Messalinus’ obligations: his good fortune obliges him to deserve the thanks of others; he ought to give more than he repays. Although the content of 61–6 follows directly from the preceding couplet, Gaertner, following Weise, deletes the entire passage. He adduces ‘the self-assertive and confident pose of the speaker of these lines’, which ‘does not square with the humble pose’ adopted earlier, forgetting that the same shift of tone occurred in a related context in 1.2. There O. is addressing Maximus, also a distant acquaintance, employing more flattery and soft soap than here; yet he introduces a similarly sharp reminder of Maximus’ duty near the end of the letter: ‘my wife is your charge: you cannot ignore her without violating your loyalty’, 2.1.145–6 *coniunx mea sarcina uestra est: | non potes hanc salua*

dissimulare fide. Gaertner also objects to the principle of generosity in benefits and obligations, which was familiar to Roman readers in Cicero *Off.* 1.42–60 (see Kenney 1958: 207n.2 for O.'s probable familiarity with this work) and Cicero's source, Hecato of Rhodes (see Dyck 1996: 155–7), because it 'makes little sense unless the poet was asking Messalinus for a favour, which, in the entire letter, he does not'; but 47–8 make clear that O. wants Messalinus to intercede with Augustus, employing *preces* to ask for the poet's recall. Gaertner further objects, without justification, to the style of the passage, remarking that 'the second distich is burdened with five abruptly short clauses' – which in fact are entirely consistent with the condensed expression that O. favours in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.

61–2 quid quod 'what of the fact that...?', a rhetorical formula of transition; cf. *Am.* 1.14.5 and McKeown *ad loc.* **ut...tua** 'whereas thanks always ought to be paid to those deserving them, at the same time it befits your position to deserve them'. **ut...sic**: 39–40n.

emeritis referenda est gratia semper; cf. Sen. *Ep.* 81.31 *referendam bene merentibus gratiam omnes tibi uno, quod aiunt, ore adfirmabunt*, a reminiscence of this line in a related context of benefits and obligations. **fortuna** 'rank' (OLD 11b). The genitive is one of definition; cf. *Met.* 13.823 *pauperis est numerare pecus*.

promeruisse: perfect infinitive for present; cf. 1.3.46n. The principle – *noblesse oblige* – goes back to the speech of Sarpedon in *Iliad* 12, who observes to Glaucus that because they enjoy a place of honour, it is their duty to stand in the forefront of battle; hence they merit the approval of their countrymen (*Hom. Il.* 12.310–21).

63–4 quodsi...optes 'and if you permit me to recommend what you should desire', meant respectfully to introduce the pentameter's demand; cf. 4.2.4 *si modo permittis dicere uera*. **ut...deos** 'entreat the gods that you may give more than you repay'. The point expands upon 62, for it is Messalinus' position that enables him to give more than he is obligated to pay back to others. For the principle of generosity in benefits cf. Cic. *Off.* 1.48 (*debemus*) *an imitari agros fertiles, qui multo plus efferunt quam acceperunt*? Also relevant is the notion, later developed at length by Seneca, that it is a virtue in itself to give benefits; their profit is immediately received by the noble

man, regardless of whether they are paid back or not; cf. Sen. *Ben.* 1.1.12 *nunc est uirtus dare beneficia non utique reditura, quorum a uiro egregio statim fructus perceptus est.*

65–6 *idque facis* ‘and this you are doing’ = 2.6.15, *Tr.* 2.41, all in the same *sedes*. In all three cases, there is an imperative in the preceding couplet, which O. proceeds to soften with *idque facis*. He now indicates that he is only asking the addressee to continue present helpfulness; cf. 2.6.15 *idque facis, faciasque precor*. This consistent pattern is good evidence for the genuineness of both 63–4 and 65–6. **quantumque licet meminisse** ‘and to the extent that I can remember’, perhaps implying that had O. not been cut off by a long exile, he would have greater knowledge of Messalinus’ benefactions. **†officii causa pluribus esse dari†**: the pentameter has been variously emended. The text printed is the reading of AB; a few MSS read *dati* for *dari*. Schenkl’s emendation gives excellent sense: *officii causa pluribus esse dator* ‘you were accustomed to be a benefactor to many for duty’s sake’ (*pluribus* = *permultis*; cf. *OLD plures* 5a). *dator* is rare outside Plautus (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.734 *laetitia Bacchus dator*), but among O.’s innovative tendencies is a preference for agent-nouns in *-or*, some very rare; cf. 1.1.42n. *uaticinator*, Draeger 1888: 17, Linse 1891: 26–8. See Scholte, Helzle and Gaertner for other suggestions.

67–70 ‘place me in whatever class you wish, Messalinus, so long as I am an unestranged part of your household’. **quolibet in numero** (*OLD numerus* 11a): sc. *amicorum*, close or distant friends, his own or those only of his brother. **Messaline**: the vocative here signals the close of the letter; cf. 2.6.35 *Graecine*, 2.11.28 *Rufe*, 3.5.58 *Maxime*, etc. **modo** = *dummodo*, as often. O. regularly places *modo* in this sense immediately after the verb; cf. 1.8.51 *liceat modo*, 2.1.54 *sint modo*, *Tr.* 4.4.47 *uiuam modo*, etc. **pars**: cf. 16 *in quibus, ut populo, pars ego parua fui*. **uestrae**: cf. 58 *uestro*. **non aliena** = *familiaris*. **Nasonem**: O. signs off with mention of his own name, as at *Tr.* 3.3.45–6 *Nasonisque tui, quod adhuc non exulat unum, | nomen ama: Scythicus cetera Pontus habet*; cf. A. A. 2.744 *Naso magister erat* = 3.812 and Gibson on the latter. **meruisse uidetur**: in contrast to earlier assertions (1.1.49

quia uel merui uel sensi principis iram, 1.5.70 *sic merui*), O. now only seems to have deserved his misfortunes. **doles...dole**: for the use in a protasis of a verb that is then repeated as an imperative, cf. *Her.* 4.162 *et mihi si non uis parcere, parce meis*, Wills 1996: 304–6. **at** ‘yet’ (OLD 13b).

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.8**

The Severus to whom this letter is addressed is probably O.'s contemporary, the poet Cornelius Severus, to whom 4.2 is also addressed (Gaertner 2005: 428 persuasively rules out the alternative candidate, the military commander A. Caecina Severus). The identification with Cornelius Severus is not precluded by 4.2.3–4, in which O. writes that he is ashamed not yet to have mentioned Severus' name in verse – *cuius adhuc nomen nostros tacuisse libellos | si modo permittis dicere uera, pudet* – for, as Helzle points out, book 4 is likely to be 'a posthumous collection containing some material which had not been included in *ex Ponto* I–III' (Helzle 1989: 59). In support of the identification is the fact that in 4.2 O. touches upon a point that he develops at length in 1.8, that to cultivate the soil cannot delight him in Tomis, though he would desire to do so if fierce war permitted, 4.2.43–4 *nec me, quod cuperem, si per fera bella liceret, | oblectat cultu terra nouata suo*.

The poet Severus was not only a warm friend of O.'s (cf. 25 *o iucunde sodalis*), but also a reader of O.'s poetry, indeed influenced by it. In his lines on the death of Cicero, Severus twice alludes to *Ex P.* 1.2 within the space of two lines; see the headnote to 1.2. O. likewise admired Severus' work. He begins 4.2 with mention of a work on *reges*, apparently on the early kings of Rome, addressing Severus as *o uates magnorum maxime regum* (1). At 4.16.9 O. lists Severus among his own contemporaries, distinguishing him for this same work, *quique dedit Latio carmen regale Seuerus*. For discussion of Severus and commentary on his fragments, see Courtney 1993: 320–8.

The genres of elegy and personal letter both lend themselves to free exploration of a topic; a poem's course may follow the movement of the author's thought and lead the reader along unforeseen paths. In this poem O. fully exploits these generic tendencies of epistolary elegy and indeed takes them beyond their ordinary limits. In its latter half, where he first recalls the familiar places of Rome and then dreams of life as a farmer in an impossibly

peaceful Tomis, it becomes one of the most beautiful and affecting of his exilic poems.

The first of its five sections is an introduction (1–10), in which O. explains – briefly and in an understated fashion – that Severus needs to know only the sum of his miseries. Only one will be the theme of this poem, the constant warfare to which life at Tomis exposes the poet, who of so many exiles alone is ‘soldier as well as exile’ (7). We might expect a full account along the lines of *Tr.* 4.1.65–86, in which the aging poet describes himself taking up sword and shield, clapping a helmet on his graying head, and putting on armour ‘with trembling hand’ at the signal of a raid. Instead of repeating such details, he shifts away from his personal plight altogether and confirms the warlike nature of his region by inserting a formal description of the nearby town of Aegisos, captured by the Getae and soon recovered by its king (11–24). O. now announces a return to his topic, but quickly changes course again (25–38). Asserting that he does not miss the delights of Rome, because he can recall them to mind, he dwells on the sites of the city in an eloquent passage, inviting the reader to recollect or imagine them as the poet himself does. These lines on the consolatory power of imagination and memory recall a passage in *Tristia* 3.4 (53–64) and draw on similar language:

at longe patria est, longe carissima coniunx,
quicquid et haec nobis post duo dulce fuit.
sic tamen haec adsunt, ut, quae contingere non est
corpore, sint animo cuncta uidenda meo.

(53–6)

He claims not to miss his country properties and gardens as well, and in the extraordinary passage that follows (49–60) imagines a life of agricultural pursuits at Tomis, with which he would be content, he says, if war did not prevent them. The reader cannot fail to recall O.’s idealized picture of rural life in *Rem.* 169–96, where he recommends the pleasures of agriculture as a distraction from the cares of love: *cum semel haec animum coepit mulcere uoluptas | debilibus pinnis*

irritus exit Amor (*Rem.* 197–8). In the agricultural fantasy of *Ex P.* 1.8 O. reprises this earlier passage in a minor key. His purpose remains consolatory, but he no longer offers with cheerful confidence to cure the reader of cares; now he represents himself striving to attain his own consolation with only partial and temporary success. The passage illustrates O.'s facility at reinventing himself as needed and exemplifies his tactic in the exilic poetry of turning to serious account in his campaign to rehabilitate himself themes that he had handled light-heartedly in the love-elegies. His predecessors also serve his agricultural turn. He develops this fantasy with several allusions to Tibullus, indeed casting himself in Tibullus' part in Tib. 1.1, wherein the poet opposes an idealized rural life to the harsh existence of the soldier. In 45–8 O. also associates himself with Meliboeus in Virgil's first eclogue, who, going into exile and leaving his *dulcia...arua* (*Ecl.* 1.3), laments that some impious veteran will possess his fallow fields, some barbarian his croplands, *Ecl.* 1.70–1 *impius haec tam culta noualia miles habebit, | barbarus has segetes*. O. appropriates more of Meliboeus' words at 51 *pendentes...rupe capellas* (see below *ad loc.*). Through these allusions O. invites his readers to interpret Virgil's first eclogue as a poem of exile, in which his own fate is prefigured. In the final section (61–74) he breaks off one fantasy only to entertain another – that Severus' country estate might one day host the restored poet. That hope is equally vain, and he ends with his customary wish for a safer place of exile.

1–10 After an affectionate greeting, O. assures Severus that he will spare him a full account of his miseries in exile. The theme of this letter will be a single hardship, the constant warfare to which O. is exposed.

1–2 *tibi dilecto* 'beloved by you': the dative of agent, common with the perfect passive (K–S I 324–5), here also serves to avoid a double ablative construction. **salutem**: the greeting is identified with the letter itself; cf. 1.3.1n., 1.10.1, etc. **accipe**: the word appears in the same *sedes* at the beginning of a poem at 2.4.1 *accipe colloquium gelido Nasonis ab Histro*. **pars animae magna...meae** 'a great part of my soul', an affectionate expression used to identify a friend; cf. *Met.* 8.406 *pars animae...meae*, Hor.

Carm. 1.3.8 *animae dimidium meae* and Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.* 1.6.16 *magnaue pars animi* is of somewhat different meaning, ‘a great part of my courage’.

3–4 *neue roga, quid agam* ‘and do not ask how I fare’. **neue** = *et ne*, linking *roga* to *accipe*. O. regularly uses *neue* to connect a negative imperative to a preceding imperative, whether positive or negative; for positive examples cf. *Tr.* 1.2.1–3, 1.5.35–7, 3.1.2–3, 3.4.75–6, *Her.* 17.111–12, *Met.* 13.747–8, 15.777–8. For *ne* + imperative, an archaism common in Augustan poetry, cf. OLD 1, McKeown on *Am.* 1.7.63, Bömer on *Met.* 2.101 *ne dubita*. For expressions of similar meaning cf. 1.6.23–4 *rogare* | *desine*, 2.9.75 *quaerere noli*. **quid agam** recalls the familiar conversational question *quid agis?* (OLD *ago* 21f); cf. 2.7.3 *proxima subsequitur, quid agas, audire uoluntas*. **persequar** ‘narrate in detail’ (OLD 8); cf. 1.3.83n. **summa** ‘summary’, ‘gist’ (OLD 7b), a prosaic term much used by Lucr. (50×; cf. 1.7.8n. *notitiam*) and O. (20×); cf. *Tr.* 5.7.7 *sum miser; haec brevis est nostrorum summa malorum*. **sat est**: Bentley’s emendation of *satis* (M) avoids an awkward ellipse of *est* twice in a single line.

5–6 *uiuimus*: cf. 1.2.37n. for *uiuimus* in a comparable context (and in the same *sedes*). **assiduis** ‘in constant use’ (OLD 4b); cf. *F.* 4.699 *assiduis...telis* (of a weaver’s loom). **expertes pacis** ‘without experience of peace’, a pointed reversal of the familiar *expers belli*; cf. *Met.* 5.91 *expertem frustra belli*, Cic. *Att.* 9.1 *testificor me expertem belli fuisse*. **pharetrato**: also of the Getae at *Tr.* 4.10.110 *pharetratis...Getis*; cf. Hor. *Carm.* 3.4.35 *uisam pharetratos Gelonos*.

bella mouente: for the idiom *bellum mouere* ‘to rouse war’, cf. OLD *moueo* 17b. **Geta** (AB², *m*) is preferable to *Gete* (BC, Gaertner). The singular of the first-declension masculine *Getes* follows the mixed declension exemplified in *Anchises* (G–L 65). The nominative and accusative remain Greek, whereas the genitive, dative and ablative are assimilated to the Latin first declension: nom. *Getēs*, gen. *Getae*, dat. *Getae*, acc. *Getēn*, abl. *Getā*. The plurals are all latinized: nom. *Getae*, gen. *Getārum*, dat. *Getīs*, acc. *Getās*, abl. *Getīs*. Patronymics and nouns strongly felt to be Greek, such as stones in Pliny’s *Naturalis historia* (*alabastrites*, *basanites*, etc.; Plin.

NH 36.147, 157–8) show an ablative singular in *-ē* (cf. K–H 436; *Met.* 8.310 *cumque Pheretiadē*), whereas names in comedy, such as *Geta*, are regularly latinized in all forms. Between these two extremes lie names identifying peoples, among them *Getes*, which regularly follow the partly latinized mixed declension and show an ablative singular in *-ā* (K–H 429).

7–8 ‘and of so many who have been exiled, I alone am soldier as well as exile’. **deque...solus**: *-que* is often attached to prepositions; cf. 33, 1.9.48 *aque*, Bömer on *Met.* 3.440 *perque*. For *de* with *solus* cf. *Tr.* 3.10.20 *oraeque de toto corpore sola patent*, *Met.* 13.529 *solus...de stirpe uirili*, *F.* 1.66 *solus de superis*. **expulsis**: the verb is used commonly of driving someone into exile (*OLD* 5c); cf. *Tr.* 4.2.17 *nos procul expulsos*. **miles in exule** ‘a soldier in the character of an exile’, ‘soldier as well as exile’; cf. *OLD* in 36d, *Met.* 13.187 *in rege tamen pater est* ‘nevertheless he is father as well as king’. **tuta...latet** ‘lies low in safety’; the adjective is predicative. Cf. 1.1.9–10 *latere | sub lare priuato tutius esse putant*. **neque inuideo** ‘not that I begrudge it’. O. uses this parenthetical insertion three times in this *sedes*; cf. *Tr.* 1.1.1 *parue (nec inuideo) sine me, liber, ibis in urbem*, *Her.* 2.79 *illa (nec inuideo) fruitur meliore marito*. *neque* often introduces a parenthesis; cf. 46, *Met.* 8.721 (*neque erat cur fallere uellent*), 14.41 (*nec uellet amans*), von Albrecht 1964: 56–8. Gaertner wrongly deletes this couplet as ‘an ill-placed digression’, despite its unimpeachably Ovidian style and expression, imagining that ‘the train of thought is impeccable’ if it is removed. The couplet is in fact not digressive at all. O. in his elegies regularly offers his readers a theme with variations, contemplating the subject from different angles, as here; his thought does not move with bland predictability from point to point.

9–10 *quoque magis*: for *quo* + comparative introducing a final clause, see *NLS* §150, K–S II 233. O. often begins a hexameter in this way; cf. 4.9.25 *quoque magis noris*, *Met.* 1.757 ‘*quo*’ *que* ‘*magis doleas...*’, 3.448 *quoque magis doleam*, etc. **uenia dignere libellos**: cf. *Tr.* 3.14.51 *qualemcumque igitur uenia dignare libellum*, 4.1.104 *cum uenia facito, quisquis es, ista [sc. carmina] legas*. **in**

procinctu ‘in readiness for battle’, ‘on active service’ (*OLD procinctus* 1).

11–24 Confirming the warlike character of the region that surrounds him, O. inserts a formal description of the town of Aegisos, its capture by the Getae and recovery by its king, whom O. then addresses in complimentary terms. For Aegisos (Aegissos, Aegissus) see *NP* 195, Syme 1978: 81–2, Helzle 2006: 142–52. Like most scholars, Syme takes the king to be Cotys; see also Galasso 1995: 27–8.

11–12 *stat uetus urbs* ‘there stands an ancient city’. This formal manner of introducing a description (called ‘ekphrasis of place’ by modern commentators) is an epic feature that goes back to Hom. *Il.* 6.152 ἔστι πόλις Ἐφύρῃ μυχῷ Ἄργεος ἵπποβότοιο, ‘There is a city, Ephyre, in a corner of horse-pasturing Argos.’ Cf. *Met.* 3.28 *silua uetus stabat*, *Am.* 3.1.1 *stat uetus...silua*, 3.13.7 *stat uetus...lucus*, Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 1.12 *urbs antiqua fuit*, Bömer on *Met.* 2.1 *regia Solis erat*. **binominis** ‘of two names’ because the river Danuvius is called Hister in its lower course. The first attestation of the term is attributed to Plautus (cf. *fr. vocabula* Lindsay); O. reintroduced it; cf. *Met.* 14.609, *Ibis* 417. *Sil.* 1.326 *apud ripas...binominis Histri* imitates this line, as does *Stat. Silv.* 5.1.89 *ripa binominis Histri*; cf. Auson. *Mos.* 106. **moenibus et positu...loci**: the ablatives are causal. O. introduced *positus* into poetry; cf. *Med.* 19, *A. A.* 3.151. He returns to the well-defended site of Aegisos in similar terms at *Ex P.* 4.7.23–4 *nam (dubium positu melius defensa manune) | urbs erat in summo nubibus aequa iugo*. For *positus* and *loci* in the same *sedes*, cf. *F.* 4.420 *a positu nomen adepta loci*. **uix adeunda** ‘scarcely accessible’, but also ‘scarcely assailable’; cf. *OLD adeo* 1, 3. *Mart.* 7.93.2 imitates this passage: (*Narnia*) *ancipiti uix adeunda iugo*.

13–14 *Caspus Aegisos* ‘Aegisos the Caspian’, i.e. from the region west and south of the Caspian Sea. Greek personal names often retain their Greek endings in poetry, especially in the nominative and accusative singular -os and -on; cf. K–H 465–9, *Am.* 1.15.18 *Menandros*. Adjectives are not normally so treated, and *Caspus* (*B p. c.*, *m*) is more likely than *Caspios* (*A*, *B a. c.*). This adjective, familiar in Virgil (*Aen.* 6.798 *Caspia regna*) and Horace (*Carm.* 2.9.2

mare Caspium), may well have been regarded as naturalized in O.'s time. **de se si credimus ipsis** 'if we believe the inhabitants themselves' for what they say 'concerning themselves', an example of Ovidian compression. As often in the *Fasti*, local informants are the authority for recherché aetiological information; cf. *F.* 4.685–90, 905–9, etc. **condidit et proprio nomine dixit opus** 'founded the work (i.e. the town itself) and called it after his own name'. **proprio**: more emphatic than *suo*. The language is typical of a foundation myth (κτίσις); for the two verbs together in a similar context cf. Virg. *Aen.* 1.276–7 *Romulus excipiet gentem et Mauortia condet | moenia Romanosque suo de nomine dicet*, O'Hara 1996: 73–9. Roma, in Virgil's example, is derived from Romulus, but Aegisos receives its founder's name unchanged; cf. *Met.* 7.474 *Aeacus Aeginam genetricis nomine dixit*. Similarly, Colonus, the hill and deme of Athens, might appear to us derived from κολωνός 'hill'; but the ancients regarded an eponymous hero Κολωνός as the origin of the name; cf. Soph. OC 59 and Jebb *ad loc.* Foundation myths, known since Homer (cf. *Od.* 6.6–10 on the foundation of Phaeacia), abound in Alexandrian and Roman poetry; see Cairns 1979: 68–86.

15–16 *hanc sc. urbem*: the demonstrative, looking back to 11 *stat uetus urbs*, is a standard feature of such descriptions; see Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 4.483 *hinc*: 'In every such description, the opening *locus est*, etc., is taken up (sometimes after a considerable interval) by a word of this type'; many examples follow. **ferus...Getes**: the hyperbaton, offering no impediment to the reader, serves to enclose and round off the couplet; cf. 1.4.45–6, 1.6.27–8nn. **Odrysiis inopino Marte peremptis** 'the Odrysians having been destroyed in a surprise assault'. The Odrysians were a subtribe of Thracians; see NP x 34. *Odrysii* = *Odrysaë*; O. here uses the adjective substantively *metri gratia*. First attested at *Am.* 3.12.32 (6× in O.), *Odrysius* is usually equivalent to Thracian (cf. *Met.* 13.554 and Hopkinson *ad loc.*), but here may be used *sensu proprio*. As Gaertner remarks, the king, characterized as *memor magni generis* at 17, may have 'belonged, like his famous namesake of the second century BC (cf. Livy 42.29.12 *Cotys Thrax, Odrysarum rex...*), to the subtribe of the *Odrysaë*'. This earlier Cotys had allied the *Odrysaë* to the Romans.

inopino: a Virgilian coinage (first at *Aen.* 5.857), formed from the

less manageable *inopinatus*; see Norden on *Aen.* 6.104. **Marte**: a common metonymy, going back to Homer (*Il.* 2.381 ἵνα ξυνάγωμεν Ἄρηα, ‘in order that we may join battle’); cf. *Met.* 12.379 and Bömer *ad loc.* **sustulit arma** = *sumpsit arma* ‘took up arms’, initiating hostilities; cf. *F.* 5.569 *pia sustulit arma*. O. puts the first event last, for chronologically the Getae took up arms, then destroyed the Odrysians, and finally captured the city. This is a striking instance of so-called *hysteron proteron* (see Postgate 1908: 7, H–S 698–9), a manner of ordering a narration that may seem preposterous to us; but the flexibility of Latin and Greek word-order allowed placement of clauses out of chronological sequence. To the ancients it was natural to place an important event first for emphasis, after which background information, though temporally prior, could follow; see Smyth §3030. Thus, in the *Odyssey*, Calypso sends Odysseus on his way, ‘having put fragrant garments upon him and bathed him’, εἵματά τ’ ἀμφιέσσασα θυώδεα καὶ λούσσασα (5.264), and in Euripides’ *Hecuba*, Helen ‘destroyed Achilles and brought him to Troy’, κείνη γὰρ ὤλεσέν νιν ἐς Τροίαν τ’ ἄγει (266). In most cases, however, the chronological dislocation is less noticeable and, as Postgate remarks, ‘syntactically indifferent’; cf. *Met.* 8.382–3 *fixa sub aure feri summum destrinxit harundo | corpus*, 8.636 *idem parentque iubentque*, 14.219 *orauique fugam gestu ad litusque cucurri* and Myers *ad loc.* **Getes**: collective singular; cf. 1.2.76 *finitimo...Getae*, 1.5.62, 1.7.12. For the declension cf. 6n.

17–18 *memor magni generis, uirtute quod auget*: for the thought cf. 1.2.2 *geminas animi nobilitate genus*, *Met.* 10.607 *nec uirtus citra genus est. magni generis* presumably refers to Cotys’ second-century ancestor of the same name (cf. 15–16n.) and to his descent from Eumolpus and Erichthonius; cf. 2.9.19–20. **innumero milite cinctus** ‘surrounded by a countless host’. For the collective singular cf. 1.2.82n., *Her.* 16.368 *innumeri militis instar*. The adjective *innumerus* is a favourite of O.’s (33×); cf. McKeown on *Am.* 1.3.9 *innumeris...aratrix*. **cinctus**: the metaphor is common; cf. *OLD* 3b, *Tr.* 5.12.20 *cinctus ab innumero...hoste locus*.

19–20 *merita...caede nocentum* ‘with a deserved slaughter of the guilty’ (*OLD* *nocens* 2b); cf. *F.* 1.350 *ulta suas merita caede nocentis*

opes (of Ceres' revenge on a sow that had ravaged her crops).

nocentum: -um for -ium *metri gratia*; see K–H 353. As at 1.2.10, there is no pentameter in A; it was probably missing in the archetype of the surviving MSS (Tarrant 1983: 263). It undoubtedly concluded the sentence with the king's recovery of Aegisos, e.g. *urbs modo quae fuerat capta recepta fuit*. Other MSS offer scribal stopgaps: *audaces animos contuderit populi* (BC); *se nimis ulciscens extitit ipse nocens* (m); see Helzle for a defence of the first (with Riese's *contuderat*).

21–2 *tibi...detur...tenere* 'let it be given you to hold'. *dare* is often used in the impersonal passive with an infinitive; cf. *Tr.* 1.9.1 *detur inoffenso uitae tibi tangere metam*, *Met.* 8.690–1 *uobis immunibus huius | esse mali dabitur*, etc. **rex aeuo...fortissime nostro** 'bravest king of our time', lit. 'in our time', temporal ablative; cf. *A.* 1.241–2 *aeuo rarissima nostro | simplicitas*, 'candour, very rare in our time'. The apostrophe is well suited to the encomiastic context (cf. 4.7.29 *at tibi, progenies alti fortissima Donni*, echoing this line), but striking in a second-person letter addressed to someone else – a reminder that O. composes each letter for the larger audience of *Ex P.* 1–3 as well as its individual addressee. **honorata...manu**: a standard Ovidian formulation, in which a person's quality is transferred to his hand; cf. 1.2.126n. *inuita...manu*.

23–4 'and may martial Rome along with great Caesar approve you – a thing which she in fact offers you now – for what fuller wish could I make on your behalf?' **quod et praestat** sc. *Roma*: the relative clause is placed before the main clause, as often; *quod* is a connecting relative, referring to Rome's approval, the topic of the main clause, summarized and made concrete in the relative pronoun; cf. 63n. **et** 'as a matter of fact' (OLD 4c). **quid enim** often introduces a parenthesis; cf. 2.3.3 *quid enim status hic a funere differt?*, 3.9.19 *quid enim dubitem tibi uera fateri?*, etc., von Albrecht 1964: 62. **plenius** 'less wanting in any respect' (OLD 13a); cf. *Tr.* 5.9.22 *non potuit uotum plenius esse meum*.

25–38 After this digression on the capture and recovery of Aegisos, O. announces a return to his original topic, the miseries caused him by warfare. We might expect a full account of these

miseries along the lines of *Tr.* 4.1.65–86, but instead O. immediately directs his readers' attention into unexpected paths. He insists that he does not miss the delights of life at Rome, for through imagination he can call to mind his friends, his family, and the places of the city. Throughout the passage are many reminiscences of *Tr.* 3.4.53–64; see headnote.

25–6 *memor unde abii* 'remembering whence I began'; cf. Hor. *S.* 1.1.107 *illuc, unde abii, redeo*, also returning to his topic after a digression. The indicative in an indirect question is a colloquial feature, a legacy of early Latin; cf. *Her.* 7.53 *quid si nescires insana quid aequora possunt?*, *Met.* 10.637 *quid facit ignorans*, Austin on Virg. *Aen.* 6.615. **accedant...quod**: *quod* 'because' normally takes the indicative except where the author attributes the reason to someone else, and indeed *B* reads *accedunt*, but *accedant* (*ACm*) is supported by O.'s usage at *Tr.* 1.2.84 *quodque sit a patria tam fuga tarda, queror*; cf. 1.6.13n. *quod...abesses*.

27–8 *ut careo uobis* 'since I have been deprived of your company'; for this temporal use of *ut* (*OLD* 27), cf. 1.9.6 *ut sumus in Ponto*, *Tr.* 4.6.19 *ut patria careo, bis frugibus area trita est*. The tense denotes that the state of deprivation continues to the present (*K–S* I 117). For the shift from the singular *o iucunde sodalis* (25) to *uobis* here, then again to *tu* (29) and *uos* (31), cf. 1.3.44–5, 85–6, 1.5.9n. **Stygias detrusus in oras**: O. often equates his exile with death; cf. 2.3.44 *a Stygia quantum mors mea distat aqua?* He here alludes to Virg. *Aen.* 7.773 *Stygias detrusit ad undas*: with a thunderbolt Jupiter thrusts Aesculapius down to the waters of Styx as a punishment for reviving Hippolytus. O., relying on his standard identification of Jupiter with Augustus, makes his own cruel punishment parallel to that of Aesculapius. **quattuor autumnos Pleias orta facit** 'the rising of the Pleiades makes four autumns', i.e. brings the total to four (*OLD* *facio* 9a); the letter was composed in the autumn of 12 CE. **Pleias**: collective singular (*OLD* 2a). Metrical convenience governs the choice of *Plēĩās* or *Plĩās* (*Her.* 18.188); cf. 1.5.82 *Pleiadum*. O. refers to the 'evening rising' (*ortus uespertinus*, ἑσπερία ἐπιτολή) of the Pleiades, which signals the beginning of autumn. Eudoxus dates it to 29 September; see Peck 1970: 399.

The ancients used the risings and settings of the Pleiades to mark divisions of the year; see Kidd on Aratus, *Phaen.* 265–6. For O.'s reckonings of years, cf. 1.2.25–6 *hic me...quarta fatigat hiems*, 4.6.5 *in Scythia nobis quinquennis Olympias acta est*, 4.10.1–2 *haec mihi Cimmerio bis tertia ducitur aestas | litore pellitos inter agenda Getas*, 4.13.39–40 *sed me iam, Care, niuali | sexta relegatum bruma sub axe uidet*.

29–30 *nec tu credideris* 'and do not suppose' = *Her.* 21.189; *nec* = *et ne*. The perfect subjunctive, aoristic in aspect, is standard in prohibitions (G–L 263.2b, K–S 189). In *-erīs* the long final syllable retains its original quantity; cf. 4.9.101 *nec mihi crediderīs*, Owen on *Tr.* 2.323 *impleverīs*, Platnauer 1951: 56. **et...tamen** (*OLD tamen* 2a) introduces a parenthesis also at *Rem.* 320 and (according to two MSS) *Met.* 14.421 *facit et tamen omnia* (*haec* the other MSS); see von Albrecht 1964: 56. The repetition (*quaerere...quaerit*) is typical of parentheses; see Wills 1996: 337–41. **illa**: resumptive, as often in this *sedes*; cf. 34, 1.5.14n.

31–4 *modo...nunc*: this variation, first attested in poetry at Prop. 1.3.21–4, was picked up by O.; cf. *Am.* 3.2.11–12, *Rem.* 595–6, *Met.* 6.663–6, etc. Cf. 65–7 *modo...modo, nunc...nunc*. **animo...reminiscor**: the language of *phantasia*, the imaginative recovery of absent objects of sight, usually people and places, through active memory; cf. *Tr.* 3.4.56 *sint animo cuncta uidenda meo*, 74 *uos animo semper adesse meo*, 4.2.57 *haec ego summotus qua possum mente uidebo*, *Ex P.* 2.4.7–8 *ante oculos nostros posita est tua semper imago, | et uideor uultus mente uidere tuos*. Such language goes back to Homer; cf. *Od.* 1.115 ὁσσόμενος πατέρ' ἐσθλὸν ἐνὶ φρεσίν, 'gazing at his noble father in his mind'. **mihi...subit** 'comes to my mind' (*OLD subeo* 12a); cf. 1.2.59n. **cum cara coniuge nata**: *cum* + ablative for *et* is often metrically convenient; cf. 1.4.39 *cum Pallade regia Iuno*. O. likewise links his friends and his wife at 1.2.49–50, recalling dreams of conversation with them: *et modo uobiscum, quos sum ueneratus, amici, | et modo cum cara coniuge multa loquor*. For O.'s daughter, his only child, cf. *Tr.* 1.3.19–20, 4.10.75–6. For the alliteration, cf. 1.3.55n. **campi cultore carentes**. **aque domo rursus pulchrae loca uertor ad Urbis** 'and once again I turn from my

house to the places of the beautiful city'. O.'s house was near the Capitoline Hill in the heart of Rome; cf. *Tr.* 1.3.29–30 *Capitolia...| quae nostro frustra iuncta fuere Lari*. **aque**: first attested at Virg. *G.* 4.347, O. favours this juncture especially in the exilic poetry; cf. 1.9.48, 2.9.60, *Tr.* 4.2.69, 4.4.85, 5.2.74, 5.13.34. It is often corrupted to *atque*; see McKeown on *Am.* 2.14.30, Butterfield 2008: 398–402. **domo** 'my house' and what it contains, i.e. my wife and family (*OLD* 6a); cf. *F.* 4.543 *tota domus laeta est, hoc est, materque paterque | nataque: tres illi tota fuere domus*, *Met.* 8.636 *tota domus duo sunt*. In poetry *domus* is often used with a preposition (*K–S* 1 483); cf. 1.2.136 *de uestra...domo*, 4.9.64 *inque domo*, 106 *in nostra...domo*, etc. **rursus**: temporal (*OLD* 3); as before he physically observed the places of the city, now he imaginatively does so 'once again'. **pulchrae...Vrbis** recalls 1.2.81–2 *pulcherrima...| Roma*. **loca...ad Vrbis**: for anastrophe of the preposition cf. 1.2.80n. *terga per amnis*, *Tr.* 1.10.15 *Aeoliae mare me deduxit in Helles*, *F.* 3.733 *nomine ab auctoris*. **cunctaque mens oculis peruidet illa suis**: cf. *Tr.* 4.2.57 *haec ego summotus qua possum mente uidebo*. **peruidet**: 1.7.43n. **illa**: resumptive; cf. 30. 33–4 are wrongly deleted by Gaertner on the grounds that they do not fit the context. In fact there is a natural progression from O.'s recollection of his friends and family (31–2) to the places of the city beyond his home (33–4), which, after this general statement, he lovingly enumerates (35–8). In style and diction the couplet is characteristically Ovidian.

35–8 exemplify the *pulchrae loca...Vrbis* just mentioned (33).

fora: those of Julius Caesar (46 BCE) and Augustus (2 BCE) in addition to the Forum Romanum and Forum Boarium; cf. *A. A.* 1.81–2, 164, and Hollis *ad loc.* with his general note on 67–262, Owen on *Tr.* 2.296. **marmore tecta theatra**: the *Theatrum Marcelli* (13 BCE), described at *A. A.* 1.70 as *externo marmore diues opus*, and the *Theatrum Pompei* (55 BCE), called simply *theatrum marmoreum* in the *Fasti Amiternini*, 12 August (Degrassi 1963: 190–1). *A. A.* 1.103 *marmoreo...theatro* probably refers to the *Theatrum Pompei*; see Hollis *ad loc.* **subit**: cf. 32 *subit*. In his late writings O. does not scruple to avoid repetitions of this kind; cf. 1.5.65n. *satis est*.

aequata porticus omnis humo 'each colonnade with its levelled

ground'. A *porticus* typically enclosed a rectangular piazza; O. has in mind such cases as the large and impressive Porticus Liviae (7 BCE; referred to at A. A. 1.71–2, F. 6.637–48), which, located on the Esquiline in hilly terrain, would have been conspicuous for artificial levelling of the site; see *LTVR* 4.127–9, 3.406 fig. 42. 37–8 specify a series of adjacent sites in the Campus Martius associated with Agrippa: land and gardens that he had owned, later becoming public property, a pool near Agrippa's baths known as the Stagnum Agrippae, the canal (*euripus*) that flowed from the Stagnum to the Tiber, and the Aqua Virgo that fed both pool and baths. **gramina**: cf. *Tr.* 5.1.32 *mollia quot Martis gramina campus habet*. **Campi pulchros spectantis in hortos** 'the field that looks toward beautiful gardens', sc. part of the Campus Martius adjacent to the Horti Agrippae, which lay west of Agrippa's baths and included the Stagnum; see *LTVR* 3.51–2. Agrippa bequeathed both gardens and baths to Augustus, who immediately granted them to the public (7 BCE); cf. Dio 54.29.4, 55.8.3, Strabo 13.1.19. **spectantis** 'facing', used of territory or land (*OLD* 10); cf. 44 *spectat*. O. introduced the verb in this sense into poetry; cf. *Met.* 13.727, 15.53, F. 5.669, Milton, *Lycidas* 161–2 'Where the great vision of the guarded Mount | Looks toward *Namancos* and *Bayona's* hold'. O. construes *spectare* with simple accusative or *in* + accusative indifferently. **stagnaque et euripi**: probably poetic plurals. For the Stagnum Agrippae, an artificial pool located just west of Agrippa's baths, see *LTVR* 4.344–5 and fig. 170. The Euripus was a canal, fed by the Aqua Virgo, that flowed from the pool to the Tiber; see *LTVR* 2.237–9 and fig. 1.120. Sen. *Ep.* 83.5 mentions that he, as an enthusiast for cold baths, used to dive into it. **Virgineusque liquor** 'the maiden's water', alluding to the etymology of Aqua Virgo: a young girl pointed out springs to soldiers searching for water. These springs became the source of the aqueduct, and a shrine with a picture that indicated this origin was built at the source; cf. Fron. *Aq.* 10 Rodgers *Virgo appellata est quod quaerentibus aquam militibus uirguncula uenas quasdam monstrauit, quas secuti qui foderent, ingentem aquae modum uocauerunt. aedicula fonti adposita hanc originem pictura ostendit*. The Aqua Virgo was built by Agrippa (completed 19 BCE) to serve the Campus Martius, then undergoing development, including

his baths and gardens; see *LTVR* 1.72–3. **liquor**: a poeticism for *aqua* (*OLD* 2b).

39–60 Having claimed not to miss the delights of Rome (29–30), O. now claims not to miss his fields near Sulmo and gardens near Rome; but he nostalgically recalls them to mind. He would be content to lead the life of a herdsman and farmer in Tomis, and in an elaborate *phantasia* dwells on the agricultural pursuits that he would pursue if the warfare of the region did not prevent them. O. touched on this theme in the (probably earlier) 4.2 (43–4; see headnote) and returns to it at 2.7.69–70 *tempus in agrorum cultu consumere dulce est: | non patitur uerti barbarus hostis humum*.

39–40 ‘It’s not that the pleasures of the city have been taken from me in my wretchedness in such fashion as to allow me at least to enjoy some country pleasures’, for those have been taken too. O. alludes to the relatively mild form of exile by which the offender was allowed to live in the Italian countryside, even near Rome, though not in the city itself; cf. 1.3.81–2n. *quid referam ueteres Romanae gentis, apud quos | exilibus tellus ultima Tibur erat?* No such consolation is allowed O., and the couplet is bitter in tone; but he goes on to assert that he does not in fact miss his lands near Sulmo and Rome, and would be content to follow agricultural pursuits in Tomis, if such were allowed (41–60). The train of thought is clear enough, and Gaertner is wrong to delete the couplet. **at puto**: a favourite Ovidian expression (and one hardly likely to have been introduced by an interpolator) used to introduce an imaginary objection, often, as here, with bitter irony; cf. 1.2.41n., 1.3.47, 1.5.25.

liceat: for the trisyllabic ending of the pentameter cf. 1.1.66n.

41–4 *amissos* ‘lost’ in the sense that O. is separated from and denied access to his fields, though he presumably still owns them; cf. *OLD* 9a, *Tr.* 3.2.21–2 *Roma domusque subit desideriumque locorum, | quidquid et amissa restat in urbe mei*, 5.9.6 *exul in amissa si tamen urbe legor*. For O.’s retention of property as a *relegatus*, cf. 1.7.47 *nec uitam nec opes nec ademit posse reuerti*. **desiderat** ‘miss’, ‘long for’; cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 4.21 *desiderium libido eius, qui nondum adsit, uidendi*. **ruraque** ‘country estates’ (*OLD* 2).

Paeligno...solo ‘in the country of the Paeligni’, where lay Sulmo, a

hundred miles east of Rome in the Abruzzi region; cf. *Am.* 2.16.1 *pars...Paeligni tertia ruris* and McKeown *ad loc.*, *F.* 4.685 *Paelignos, natalia rura, petebam*. **conspicienda** ‘worth seeing’, ‘admirable’; cf. *F.* 5.552 *templaque in Augusto conspicienda foro*. **nec quos... hortos**: the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause; cf. 55, *F.* 6.395–6 *forte reuertebat...illa | quae Noua Romano nunc Via iuncta foro est* in a related context, Kenney on *Her.* 21.100. **piniferis**: first attested at Virg. *Ecl.* 10.14–15 *pinifer...Maenalus*; cf. *Aen.* 10.708 *Vesulus...pinifer*. The umbrella pine (*Pinus pinea* L.) was favoured in gardens; cf. Virg. *Ecl.* 7.65 *fraxinus in siluis pulcherrima, pinus in hortis*. **spectat** ‘faces’; cf. 37 *spectantis*. **Flaminiae Clodia iuncta uiae** ‘the Via Clodia joined to the Via Flaminia’, i.e. their junction north of the Milvian Bridge; see Coarelli 2007: 424. The location of O.’s gardens is not more precisely known; see Trapp 1973: 61–74 on the once-famous ‘Tomb of the Nasonii’ (second half of the second century CE), discovered in 1674 and long imagined to have some connection to O. In 2000 an equally implausible ‘Ovid’s villa’ was announced; see *The Times*, 21 September 2000. **Clodia**: sc. *uia*, understood ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from *uiae*.

45–8 These two couplets reprise O.’s advice at *Rem.* 169–98, especially 193–4 *ipse potes riguis plantam deponere in hortis; | ipse potes riuos ducere lenis aquae*; cf. 51–2n. They also recall Meliboeus’ complaint at Virg. *Ecl.* 1.70–2 that some *impius miles* will possess his fallow fields, some *barbarus* his croplands: *his nos consueuimus agros!* (72); see headnote. **quibus** ‘in which’, locative ablative (NLS §51.4). **ipse** recalls *Rem.* 193–4, just quoted, and 212 *aut his aut aliis, donec dedisces amare, | ipse tibi furtim decipiendus eras*; also Tibullus’ resolve to become a *rusticus* and perform agricultural tasks himself, Tib. 1.1.7–8 *ipse seram teneras maturo tempore uites | rusticus et facili grandia poma manu*.

nec pudet recalls Tib. 1.1.29 *nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentem*, etc., a context to which O. returns at 51–4. *nec* often introduces a parenthesis; cf. 8 *neque inuideo*. **addere aquas** ‘to apply water’ (OLD *addo* 3a); cf. Cato, *Agr.* 151.4 *facito uti aquam addas*. The elision at this *sedes* in the pentameter is very rare; cf. *Tr.* 4.2.54 *quadriugos cernes saepe resistere equos*, Platnauer 1951:

90. **sunt ubi, si uiuunt, nostra quoque consita quaedam | sed non et nostra poma legenda manu** ‘where there are as well, if they still live, certain fruit-trees also planted by my hand, but whose fruits are not also to be gathered by my hand’. *sunt...poma* and *nostra...manu* are both instances of hyperbaton, but the parallel structure of the couplet preserves its clarity. **poma** does semantic double duty, first as ‘fruit-trees’ with *consita*, then as ‘fruits’ with *legenda*.

49–50 pro quibus amissis ‘for the loss of which’, the familiar *ab urbe condita* construction (NLS §95); *amissis* echoes 41 *amissos* in the same *sedes*. **profugo** ‘exile’ (OLD 2b), metrically convenient in the dative, for *exuli* will not scan; cf. 2.9.6, 3.3.1. As at *Tr.* 1.3.10, 84, the word associates O. with Aeneas, the *profugus par excellence*; cf. A. A. 3.337 *profugum Aenean*, Virg. *Aen.* 1.2 and Austin *ad loc.*

glæba: lit. ‘a clod’, used since Virg. G. 1.44 as collective singular for ‘cultivated soil’ (OLD *gleba* 1b); cf. *Tr.* 5.2.66 *glæbaque canenti semper obusta gelu*.

51–2 reprise *Rem.* 178–9 *aspice tondentes fertile gramen oues. | ecce, petunt rupes praeruptaque saxa capellae*. **ipse ego** ‘I myself’, i.e. in person, picking up 45 *ipse*; cf. Prop. 2.19.17 *ipse ego uenabor*. The anaphora of *ipse* in three successive lines (51–3) is very emphatic; cf. 2.4.11–13 for *saepe* beginning three successive lines, Tib. 1.5.11–16 for *ipse* beginning three successive couplets.

pendentes...rupe capellas ‘goats hanging on a crag’ alludes to Virg. *Ecl.* 1.75–6, in which Meliboeus, going into exile, tells his goats that he will no longer ‘watch you from afar hanging on a thorny crag’ *non ego uos [sc. capellas] posthac... | dumosa pendere procul de rupe uidebo*. **liceat modo** ‘provided only it be allowed’ = *Her.* 18.51, *Met.* 8.38, both in the same *sedes*. *modo* = *dummodo*; cf. 1.7.68n. **uelim**: all the main verbs in this *phantasia* (51–60) are in the potential subjunctive. **baculo...nixus** ‘leaning on my staff’; cf. *Met.* 8.218 *aut pastor baculo stiuaue innixus arator*.

53–6 *ne solitis insistant pectora curis* ‘lest my heart dwell on its usual cares’; cf. 1.2.55 *perpetuis liquefiunt pectora curis*, *Rem.* 170 *quaelibet huic curae cedere cura potest*. For *insistere* + dative cf. *Rem.* 315 *uitiis insistere amicae*. **ducam ruricolae sub iuga curua boues**: a pointed allusion to Tibullus’ praises of Peace, which

O. introduces into a poem lamenting the absence of Peace, Tib. 1.10.45–6 *Pax candida primum | duxit araturos sub iuga curua boues*. The line also recalls *Rem.* 171 *colla iube domitos oneri supponere tauros*. **ruricolas** ‘country-dwelling’, first attested in O. (11×); see Linse 1891: 40, Draeger 1888: 15; applied to oxen also at *F.* 1.384 *ruricolaeque boues*, *Met.* 5.479. **et discam Getici quae norunt uerba iuuenci**: a humorous adaptation of O.’s claim to have learned Getic and Sarmatian in order to communicate with the people; cf. 3.2.40 = *Tr.* 5.12.58 *nam didici Getice Sarmaticeque loqui*, 4.13.19–20 *Getico scripsi sermone libellum, | structaque sunt nostris barbara uerba modis*. **uerba**: the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause; cf. 43 *quos...hortos*.

adsuetas illis adiciamque minas ‘and I would hurl the accustomed threats at them’. **adsuetas**: i.e. in a language familiar to them. **adiciamque**: *OLD* *adicio* 1b. For the postponement of *-que* to follow a quadrisyllable in this *sedes*, cf. 1.4.54n. **minas**: presumably stronger language, when needed, than the *uerba* of the hexameter. For *minae* used to spur on animals, cf. *Stat. Theb.* 6.319 *urge alios [sc. equos]...stimulisque minisque*. According to Columella, the *bubulcus* should keep the oxen in dread of him by voice rather than blows, 2.26 *uoce potius quam verberibus terreat*; cf. *Juv.* 3.237 *stantis conuicia mandrae*, the drover’s ‘verbal abuse of the pack-train, brought to a halt’ in an urban traffic-jam.

57–8 ‘I myself, having guided with my hand the handle of the pressed-down plough, would try to scatter seed in the furrowed soil.’ This element of O.’s *phantasia* is meant to recall the fact, as he represents it, that because of the fear of war, no one in Tomis actually furrows the soil or sows seed; cf. *Tr.* 3.10.67–8 *tunc quoque, cum pax est, trepidant formidine belli, | nec quisquam presso uomere sulcat humum*. This couplet recalls O.’s advice at *Rem.* 171–4 *colla iube domitos oneri supponere tauros, | sauciet ut duram uomere aduncus humum; | obrue uersata Cerealia semina terra, | quae tibi cum multo fenore reddat ager*. **ipse** resumes the anaphora of 51–3. **manu**: to be taken with *pressi* as well as *moderatus*. **capulum**: the ‘handle’ of various implements, here the plough. The technical term for plough-handle is *stiuā* ‘stilt’; cf. *F.* 4.825 *premēns stiuam*, White 1967: 129. **mota...humo**: for

mouere ‘to till’, cf. *Met.* 3.102–3 *motaeque iubet supponere terrae | uipereos dentes*, *Virg. G.* 2.316 *tellurem...mouere*, etc.

59–60 *ligonibus* ‘mattock’ (poetic plural), used for weeding, turning sod and breaking clods; cf. *Met.* 11.36 *longique ligones*, White 1967: 37–40. O., wielding a mattock, recalls Tibullus with a hoe, *Tib.* 1.1.29 *nec tamen interdum pudeat tenuisse bidentem*.

purgare...herbas ‘to clear away weeds’; cf. Cato, *Agr.* 151.3 *herbas de areis purgare*, *OLD purgo* 2c, *herba* 1b. **iam sitiens** ‘soon thirsty’, referring to the frequency with which one must irrigate; cf. L–S *jam* I.A.2.a. **quas bibat hortus** ‘for the garden to drink’; the subjunctive is final. *sitire* used of soil and plants in need of watering is farmers’ language (cf. *OLD* 2a, *Quint.* 8.6.6 of *sitire segetes* attributed to *rustici*, *F.* 4.940 *sitit tellus*), but *bibere* is poetical; cf. *Virg. Ecl.* 3.111 *sat prata biberunt*, *Tib.* 2.1.44 *tunc bibit irriguas fertilis hortus aquas*, etc.

61–74 O. breaks off his fantasy of agricultural pursuits, which the dangers of warfare make impossible. Severus, by contrast, enjoying a better fate, can enjoy the delights of Rome that O. recalled earlier (33–8) as well as his country properties. Were Caesar to put aside his wrath, Severus’ villa might host the restored poet – but O. breaks off this fantasy also, returning to his customary wish for a place of exile closer to Rome and less exposed to war.

61–2 *unde sed hoc nobis* ‘but whence shall this come to me?’, making clear that the wishes begun at 49 *utinam contingere possit* are not to be fulfilled; for the expression cf. *Her.* 21.237 *unde tibi fauor hic...?* **minimum...discrimen** ‘a very small partition’ (*OLD discrimen* 1a); *minimum* is made emphatic both by its position before the relative pronoun and by its separation from its noun, a characteristically functional instance of hyperbaton. **quos inter**: for anastrophe of prepositions cf. 33n. *loca...ad Urbis*, 1.2.80n. *terga per amnis*; of *inter* cf. *Am.* 1.11.2 *ancillas inter*, 2.6.47 *has inter*, *Her.* 5.13 *greges inter*, 6.118 *dotalet inter*. **muris clausaque porta** recall *Tr.* 3.14.41–2 *custodia muri | summouet infestos clausaque porta Getas*.

63–4 *quod* ‘a thing which’, a connecting relative; cf. 23n., *OLD qui*¹ 13a, *NLS* §230.6. **nerunt** = *neuerunt*. **fatales...deae** = *Parcae*, the Fates; cf. *Tr.* 5.3.25–6 *nentes fatalia Parcae | stamina*, *Tib.* 1.7.1–2 *Parcae fatalia nentes | stamina, non ulli dissoluenda deo*. **fortia fila** ‘strong threads’ of life, i.e. not easily broken. For the alliteration in *fatales fortia fila*, cf. 32n. The language of this couplet recalls, by way of contrast, the gloomy Fate that O. supposes may have attended his birth, *Tr.* 5.3.14 *nubila nascenti seu mihi Parca fuit*.

65–6 Severus can enjoy in person the very places of Rome that are available to O. only in imagination (33–8). **te modo Campus habet**: sc. *Martius*; cf. 37–8, *A. A.* 3.385 *nec uos Campus habet. modo...modo...nunc*: cf. 31–2n. **in quo ponis tempora rara, forum** ‘the Forum, in which you spend your time only now and then’. **rara**: the adjective is predicative (*OLD* 4). **forum**: cf. 35 *fora*, but here the Roman Forum specifically is meant, the centre of law and politics; Severus prefers cultured retirement. As often, the relative clause precedes its antecedent.

67–8 ‘Umbria now calls you back, and the Appian Way brings you to the Alban fields, as you seek them with burning wheel’. *Albana* modifies *arua*, the object of *in*, and *Albana...arua* also serves ἀπὸ κοινοῦ as the object of *petentem*. O. favours elliptical constructions that, as here, condense and intensify the expression without sacrifice of clarity. Scholte takes *Albana* as a substantive object of *petentem*, ‘as you seek your Alban estate’, but it is more natural to take *Albana arua* as a variation on the common *Albanus ager*. **reuocat**: cf. *Rem.* 239 *nec te lar patrius, nec amor reuocabit amicae*.

petentem: sc. *te* (65). **Albana...arua** = *Albanum agrum*, the fertile agricultural land, dotted with villas, in the Alban Hills near *Albanus lacus*; see *NP* I 325. **Appia**: sc. *uia*. It leads directly from Rome to the *Albanus ager*; see *BA* 43. **feruenti...rota**: i.e. ‘in hot haste’ (Keene); cf. *A. A.* 3.396 *feruenti...rota* in the same *sedes*, *Virg. Aen.* 11.195 *feruentesque rotas*, *Hor. Carm.* 1.1.4–5 *feruidis | ... rotis*.

69–70 forsitan: 1.1.78n. **hic** ‘there’, ‘in the place just mentioned’ (OLD 3a). **iustam...iram**: for Augustus ‘just anger’ cf. *Tr.* 2.29 *illa* [sc. *ira*] *quidem iusta est, nec me meruisse negabo*. At *Ex P.* 2.8.75–6 O. similarly closes a poem with a wish that it may be diminished, *uera precor fiant timidae praesagia mentis, | iustaque quamuis est, sit minor ira dei*; cf. also 1.1.49n. **hospitium** ‘place of lodging’ (OLD 3a); cf. 1.1.3–4n., *F.* 1.545 *huic hospitium domus est Tegeaea*.

71–2 The wish just projected upon Severus – that he may host O. on Italian soil – must already be abandoned. **a, nimium**: an Ovidian formula, used 6× in this *sedes*; cf. *Am.* 1.3.3 *a, nimium uolui* and McKeown *ad loc.* **moderatus**: O. introduced the adverb into poetry (8× in the comparative). **quaeso**: often parenthetically inserted in the context of an imperative or jussive subjunctive (OLD 3a), like *precor*; cf. 1.6.17n. O. uses *quaeso* only in the double *Heroides* and exilic poetry (10×). **contrahe uela**: the sailor shortens sail when the wind is too strong; cf. OLD *contraho* 1e, LSJ *συστέλλω* 1. The metaphorical application is common; cf. *Tr.* 3.4.32 *propositique, precor, contrahe uela tui*, Hor. *Carm.* 2.10.23–4 *contrahes uento nimium secundo | turgida uela* and Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.*, Otto 1857.

73–4 O.’s oft-repeated wish for a milder place of exile also concludes the first poem of the collection; cf. 1.1.79–80n., 2.8.72 *spes exilii commodioris*. **terra...propior**: cf. 1.2.128 *ut propior patriae sit fuga nostra, roga*. **obnoxia** ‘exposed to’ (OLD 3a).

pars bona = *magna pars*; cf. 3.2.4 *utque sit in nobis pars bona salua facis*, *Am.* 2.5.16, *F.* 5.150. *bona pars* is probably ‘somewhat colloquial’ (Wilkins on Hor. *Ars* 297); cf. Cic. *De or.* 2.14 *bonam partem sermonis*, Hor. *S.* 1.1.61 *bona pars hominum*, etc.

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.9**

The Maximus to whom this letter is addressed is Cotta Maximus, the addressee of 1.5 and four other letters of *Ex P.* 1–3. So we may conclude from the intimacy of the letter’s opening and the shared affection for a deceased friend that it memorializes, and from the mention of the addressee’s brother as a hoped-for source of aid (29),

certainly a reference to Messalinus, the addressee of 1.7 (see the headnotes to 1.5, 1.7). Maximus has written to O. of the death of Celsus, a mutual friend, and O. responds by recalling Celsus' loyalty and devotion at the time of O.'s ruin (7–40). Lines 33–40 make it clear that Celsus is a dependant of Maximus and his family, implicitly rather humble in property and ancestry, but not therefore the less worthy of Maximus' friendship. He is often identified with Albinovanus Celsus (as by Syme 1978: 90), the 'friend and secretary' of Tiberius to whom Horace addresses *Ep.* 1.8 (2 *comiti scribaeque Neronis*) and whom Horace mentions also at *Ep.* 1.3.15–20, evidently as a fellow-poet, with a warning against excessive dependence on literary predecessors.

In its memorialization of a deceased friend, the letter has features of an *epicedion* or poetical *laudatio*, among them praise of the deceased's character and an account of his funeral; see *RE* vi 1.112–13 (Crusius). It will remind readers of Catullus 101 on his brother and Propertius 3.7 on Paetus, 3.18 on Marcellus and 4.11 on Cornelia; and especially O.'s own *Am.* 3.9 on Tibullus. We may recall as well the verses that O. wrote for the funeral of Messala, Maximus' father (cf. 1.7.29–30n.). Here O. skilfully adapts features of an *epicedion* to an appeal for help characteristic of his exilic elegies. Mention of Maximus' name is delayed until line 16 (see the headnote to 1.4 for a comparable postponement), but O. has him in mind throughout – and the larger readership as well, acknowledged as *uenturi* (44).

Because so many of the letters are addressed to Cotta Maximus, O. can explore different aspects of this friendship in different contexts. Whereas in 1.5 he emphasized Maximus' identity as fellow-poet, well suited to hear why the exiled poet would continue to write even when deprived of any hope of *gloria* and *fama*, here Maximus' ability to aid O. is more prominent. Indeed, O. uses Celsus to remind Maximus of his duty to come to O.'s aid, presenting Celsus' words on that very topic as a direct quotation (25–30).

After a brief introduction (1–6) on the grief felt by O. upon receiving Maximus' letter, the long central section of the poem praises Celsus by recalling his loyalty to O. and efforts to encourage him at the time

of his exile (7–40). He imagines Celsus as if alive: *ante meos oculos tamquam praesentis imago | haeret, et extinctum uiuere fingit amor* (7–8). The language of *phantasia*, the imaginative recovery of absent persons and places, links this poem closely to the last. In 1.8 O. employed it to overcome the separation from Rome imposed by exile; here he similarly employs it to overcome the separation from a friend imposed by death. Celsus, we are told (33), used to vow that he would come to O. in Tomis, physically travelling there; but in the event only O.'s verses can bridge the gap between them: they travel to Rome as a funerary offering, the only such offering that he can provide (45–6). In the last section (41–56) he turns to address Celsus, describing Maximus' dutiful service at the funeral. In a concluding witticism, tinged with bitterness, O. hopes that as one of the 'dead' himself he can benefit from the same solicitude that Celsus' corpse enjoyed.

1–6 The news of Celsus' death, the most grievous that has reached O. in exile, caused him to read a letter of Maximus with unwilling eyes – a thing he thought impossible.

1–2 At 4.11.9–10 O., addressing Gallio after receiving news of the death of Gallio's wife, reprises in one couplet the two opening couplets of 1.9: *nuntia nam luctus mihi nuper epistula uenit, | lectaque cum lacrimis sunt tua damna meis*. **Quae...epistula**: the antecedent is incorporated into the relative clause, as often; cf. 1.8.43n. *nec quos...hortos, 55 quae norunt uerba iuuenci*. **rapto** 'carried off' by death (OLD 5); cf. 4.11.5 *rapti iactura...amici*, Am. 3.9.35 *cum rapiunt mala fata bonos*. **est lacrimis umida facta meis** recalls Tr. 4.1.96 *umidaque est fletu littera facta meo*. In these cases the recipient wets a letter with tears; more often it is the sender – a motif that O. adapted from Propertius (4.3.4 *haec erit e lacrimis facta litura meis*) for Briseis (Her. 3.3 *quascumque aspicias, lacrimae fecere lituras*), then for himself in the *Tristia* (1.1.13–14 *neue liturarum pudeat; qui uiderit illas | de lacrimis factas sentiet esse meis*; 3.1.16 *laesit opus lacrimis ipse poeta suum*).

3–4 'and – a thing which is unspeakable, and which I supposed could not happen – I read a letter of yours with unwilling eyes'.

quod: the connecting relative = the topic of the main clause, which

typically follows; cf. 1.8.23n. *quod* is nominative; it also functions ἄπὸ κοινοῦ as the accusative subject of the indirect statement introduced by *putaui*. **fieri nec posse putaui**: cf. *Tr.* 1.8.7 *fieri quae posse negabam*, 3.11.69 *fieri quod numquam posse putaui*, 5.5.37 *hoc...quondam fieri non posse loquebar*. **inuitis oculis**: cf. 1.2.126n. *inuita...manu*. **littera** = *epistula*; cf. 1.7.1n.

5–6 *ad nostras peruenit...aures*: cf. 2.9.3 *uestras...peruenit ad aures* and Galasso *ad loc.* **ut sumus in Ponto** ‘since I have been in Pontus’; cf. 1.8.27n. *ut careo uobis*. **perueniatque precor** ‘and I pray that’ nothing more bitter ‘will reach’ my ears; the negative in *nec* applies to both *peruenit* and *perueniat*. *precor* can be used either with *ut* (cf. 1.7.64) or with the subjunctive alone; cf. 2.6.15 *idque facis faciasque precor*.

7–40 In a *phantasia*, developed at some length, O. affectionately imagines Celsus as if alive, recalling his loyalty and devotion at the time of O.’s ruin. He quotes Celsus’ words of encouragement to the poet, which included an assurance of help sure to come from Maximus and his brother Messalinus. O. now asks Maximus to see to it that Celsus’ words not be in vain.

7–8 *ante...haeret* recalls *Tr.* 3.8.35–6, where O. envisions the ‘shape of my own fate’ in closely similar terms: *haeret et ante oculos ueluti spectabile corpus | astat fortunae forma legenda meae*; cf. *Tr.* 3.4.59 *coniugis ante oculos, sicut praesentis, imago est*. He returns to this language in calling to mind an absent friend at *Ex P.* 2.4.7–8 (to Atticus) *ante oculos nostros posita est tua semper imago, | et uideor uultus mente uidere tuos*. For Ovidian *phantasia* cf. 1.8.31–4n. **tamquam praesentis**: sc. *Celsi*; cf. *Tr.* 4.3.19 *uultibus illa tuis tamquam praesentis inhaeret*. *tamquam* is a prosaic term favoured by O. (28×), not common elsewhere in poetry; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.5.15–16. **extinctum** = *mortuum*, a common euphemism; cf. 55–6 *extinctis*. Here the participle has concessive force: ‘the man, though he is dead’. **figit amor**: cf. *Her.* 2.21–2 *denique fidus amor, quidquid properantibus obstat, | finxit*, *Tib.* 2.6.51 *mens mihi perdita figit*.

9–10 ‘Often my mind recalls his gaiety lacking solemnity, often his serious actions performed with pure trustworthiness’. **saepe...** **saepe**: re-petition heightens the pathos. Repetition of *saepe* is very common; cf. 2.4.11–13, 2.5.35–7, 4.12.25–6, etc.; in the same *sedes* at *Tr.* 1.2.9–10 *saepe ferox cautum petiit Neptunus Vlixem; | eripuit patruo saepe Minerua suo*. **refert animus** (OLD *refero* 17); cf. 1.8.31n. *uos animo dulces reminiscor amici*. **grauitate carentes** is an instance of ‘amplificatory pleonasm’, for *lusus* by their nature lack solemnity; cf. 3.4.15 *propenso...fauore* ‘kind favour’, *Met.* 14.706 *propensum...fauorem* and Myers *ad loc.*, Diggle 2005. **liquida** ‘unadulterated’ (OLD 9); applied to *fides*, the adjective is first attested here. For the metaphor cf. *Lucr.* 3.40 *uoluptatem liquidam puramque* and Kenney *ad loc.*

11–14 *subeunt mihi* ‘occur to my mind’; cf. 1.2.59, 1.8.32, 37. **densius** ‘more thickly’ is an equivalent of *saepius* (OLD *dense* 2), varying the repetition of *saepe* in the preceding couplet. Here it perhaps conveys an image of these occasions and what they bring to mind elbowing their way into recollection. **quae...meae** ‘which I would have wished to be the last of my life’. **summa** (OLD 5a): cf. 2.5.74 *ad uitae tempora summa tuae*. **ingenti...ruina**: the metaphor of a falling building is a favourite of O.’s; cf. 1.4.6n. *aetatis...tanta ruina meae*, *Tr.* 2.121–2 *corruit haec igitur Musis accepta sub uno | sed non exiguo crimine lapsa domus*. **lapsa...concidit...procubuitque** ‘collapsed in total ruin and fell’. The pleonasm, with synonymous verbs (OLD *concido*¹ 2, *procumbo* 3b) reinforcing each other, vividly conveys the totality and abruptness of O.’s downfall; cf. *Met.* 5.77 *conciderant lapsi*, *Caes. Civ.* 2.11.4 *repentina ruina pars eius turris concidit, pars reliqua consequens procumbebat*, *Cic. Div.* 2.119 *labi...atque concidere*. **domini** ‘owner’ (OLD 1a) of the *domus* just mentioned. Use of the terms in close proximity calls attention to the etymological connection; cf. *Tr.* 3.1.37–8 *cuius ut accepi dominum, ‘non fallimur’, inquam | ‘et magni uerum est hanc lous esse domum’, 58 isdem et sub dominis aspicere domus*.

15–16 *adfuit ille mihi* ‘he stood by me’ (OLD *adsum* 11a); cf. 2.3.45 *adfuit insano iuuenis Phoeus Orestae*. **pars magna** sc.

amicorum; cf. 1.4.34n. *at nostram cuncti destituere fugam*.

Maxime: the addressee is first mentioned here. O. fittingly introduces Maximus' name at this point, whose friendship, like that of Celsus, had survived O.'s fall. **Fortunae nec fuit ipse comes**: i.e. he did not accompany Fortune when she abandoned O. **ipse** 'he too' in addition to others (*OLD* 6). This couplet recalls *Tr.* 1.5.33–4 and its context: *uix duo tresue mihi de tot superestis amici; | cetera Fortunae, non mea turba fuit*; cf. *Ex P.* 2.3.55–6 *scilicet indignum, iuuenis carissime, ducis | te fieri comitem stantis in orbe deae* (sc. *Fortunae*).

17–18 *illum...flentem mea funera*: the language and context recall O.'s description in *Tr.* 1.3 of his last night in Rome; cf. 17 *uxor amans flentem flens acrius ipsa tenebat*, 21–3 *quocumque aspiceres, luctus gemitusque sonabant, | formaque non taciti funeris intus erat. | femina uirque meo, pueri quoque funere maerent*, etc. For exile as a *funus* cf. *Tr.* 1.7.37–8 *haec [sc. uolumina] non sunt edita ab ipso, | se quasi de domini funere rapta sui*. **ponendus...in igne**: *ponere in igne* = *imponere igni*; cf. *Tr.* 1.7.16 *posui...in igne*, 5.12.64, *Met.* 13.583 *impositos supremis ignibus artus*.

19–20 *haesit in amplexu* 'he clung to my embrace'; *haerere in* and *haerere* + dative are synonymous (cf. *OLD* *haereo* 1a). **iacentem** 'as I lay prostrate' emotionally (*OLD* 5); cf. 1.3.7 *mente iacens*, 27 *animum...iacentem*. **cumque meis lacrimis miscuit usque suas**: for the sympathetic mingling of tears, cf. *Her.* 2.95 *cumque tuis lacrimis lacrimas confundere nostras*, 5.46 *misceimus lacrimas maestus uterque suas*. **usque** 'continually' (*OLD* 5).

21–32 O. here reworks 1.6.41–8, in which the goddess *Spes* similarly restrains O. from suicide and tells him that the anger of the *princeps* can be turned aside; here Celsus takes the role of *Spes*. At 1.6.47–8 the poet, now encouraged, asks his addressee Graecinus to intercede on his behalf; here lines 31–2 serve the same function. In each case O. reinforces the appeal by including the addressee's name in the vocative (32 *Maxime*, 1.6.47 *Graecine*).

21–4 *o quotiens*: the emotional anaphora of *o quotiens* at the beginning of two successive couplets occurs also at 4.1.9–12, *Tib.*

2.3.17–20; similarly *a quotiens* at *Tr.* 1.3.51–4, *Her.* 16.241–4 (and the couplet-like pairs of hexa-meters at *Met.* 2.489–92). O. also uses both expressions singly, always in this *sedes*; see McKeown on *Am.* 2.19.11–12 for examples. The supposed semantic distinction between the two, *a quotiens* expressing pain or regret, *o quotiens* pleasure or approval, is not supported by the Ovidian examples – least of all the present, in which the author paradoxically expresses both regret and approval for Celsus’ efforts on his behalf. Ambivalent regret is evident in O.’s reference to Celsus as *uitae custos inuisus amarae* (21), whereas he has nothing to complain of in the encouraging remarks of Celsus that follow (23–4). **continuit** pointedly recalls 1.6.41–2, in which Spes restrains O. in similar terms: *me quoque conantem gladio finire dolorem | arguit iniecta continuitque manu.* **promptas in mea fata manus** ‘hands [sc. O.’s] ready to compass my death’. *promptus in* + accusative, the prepositional phrase denoting purpose, is a variation on the more common *promptus ad* (*Met.* 1.126 *ad horrida promptior arma*, *F.* 3.277 *promptos ad bella Quirites*); cf. OLD *promptus* 5a, *Tr.* 5.2.30 *ut taceam strictas in mea fata manus.* **placabilis ira deorum est**: for *placabilis* used of the gods and their anger, in the exilic poetry specifically of Augustus and his anger, cf. *Tr.* 2.141 *sed solet interdum fieri placabile numen*, *Met.* 10.399 *ira deum siue est, sacris placabilis ira*. The language and context recall 1.6.43–4 ‘*quid*’ *que facis? lacrimis opus est, non sanguine*’ *dixit*, | ‘*saepe per has flecti principis ira solet.*’ **uiue nec...nega**: cf. *Her.* 11.60 *uiue nec unius corpore perde duos*, *F.* 5.412 *uiue, precor, nec me, care, relinque, pater.* **ignosci...tibi** ‘that you can be forgiven’, impersonal passive. **tu tibi**: polyptoton; see Gaertner *ad loc.*: the ‘emphatic clustering of second-person pronouns may suggest that Ovid should be the last person to deny that his *crimen* can be forgiven’.

25–6 *uox tamen illa fuit celeberrima* ‘but this was his most frequent utterance’. For *illa uox* (OLD *uox* 7b) introducing direct speech cf. Cic. *Ver.* 5.147 *illa uox et imploratio*, ‘*ciuis Romanus sum*’; at *F.* 3.77 O. follows a promise in direct speech with *uox rata fit*.

celeberrima: a favourite adjective of O.’s (20×). Gaertner supports the variant *creberrima* (*m*), but ‘frequent’ is well within the semantic range of *celeber* (OLD 3); cf. 2.10.49 *ades celeberrimus absens* ‘you

are very often at my side, though absent'. **respice** 'consider' (OLD 6c). **debeat** belongs to the language of *amicitia*; cf. 55 *quae debet*, 4.15.3–4 *Sexto debere salutem | me sciat*, etc.

27–30 *incumbet* 'will exert himself' (OLD 6). **quaque est pietate** 'and so loyal is he'; the ablative is descriptive. Cf. 1.7.59n. *quaeque tua est pietas*. **ad extremum...tenax** 'holding out to the very end'; cf. 3.7.20 *Parcaque ad extremum qua mea coepit eat*. **suus**: sc. *uiribus*, supplied ἀπὸ κοινοῦ from *uires*. **fratris**: i.e. Cotta Maximus' brother Messalinus, the addressee of 1.7 and 2.2. **omnem |...experietur opem** 'he will try every resource' (OLD *ops* 5a); cf. *Tr.* 3.6.21–4 *sis memor, et si quas fecit tibi gratia uires | illas pro nobis experiare, rogo, | numinis ut laesi fiat mansuetior ira, | mutatoque minor sit mea poena loco*. **quo leuius doleas**: the relative final clause with a comparative (NLS §150, K–S || 233) is a favourite construction of O.'s; cf. 1.8.9n.

31–2 *malae...taedia uitae* 'the weariness I felt in my wretched life'; *taedia uitae* occurs in this *sedes* also at *Met.* 10.482, 625; cf. *Ibis* 584 *uitae taedia iusta tuae*, *Tr.* 4.10.116 *sollicitae taedia lucis*.

quae [sc. *uerba*] **tu ne fuerint, Maxime, uana caue**: the stern, admonitory tone is characteristic; cf. 1.7.61–6n.

33–4 *huc quoque* = 2.1.1, 3.3.25, *Tr.* 3.9.3, 4.1.62 (all in the same *sedes*) 'even to this place'. Celsus' vow to come to Tomis recalls *Tr.* 1.3.81–8, in which O.'s wife resolves to follow him into exile, but is induced to remain 'for my advantage', *utilitate* (88). **solebat** (*m*) fits the context of Celsus' repeated efforts to assist the poet; the better attested *uolebat* (*ACm*) 'was willing' is also possible. **non nisi te longae ius sibi dante uiae** 'but not unless you granted him the right to make the long journey'. The word-order is exceptional: *iurare solebat*, completing the clause, registers on the reader's mind before *non nisi* makes it conditional; cf. 1.7.9–10n. *nos satis est inter glaciem Scythicasque sagittas | uiuere, si uita est mortis habenda genus*; the added protasis similarly qualifies *uiuere*. Normally *non nisi* (9× in O.) precedes the verb that *non* makes negative, e.g. *A. A.* 3.598 *non nisi laesus amo*; but cf. *Tr.* 3.3.27–8 *liquet hoc, carissima, nobis, | tempus agi sine me non nisi triste tibi* 'this is clear to me, dearest, that you spend no time without me that is not sad'. For *nisi*

with an ablative absolute, cf. *OLD* 6b, *Pl. Am.* 390 *non loquar nisi pace facta*. **ius** perhaps = *facultatem* ‘ability’, ‘opportunity’ (Scholte); cf. *OLD* 11, *TLL* VII 689.36–9. The lines that follow (35–8) make clear that Celsus was among Maximus’ dependants, but do not specify the nature of the *ius* that Maximus could provide. Keene *ad loc.* surmises that he ‘was to obtain permission from Augustus for Celsus to visit the exiled poet’, Helzle that he was to provide the financial means for the journey. **uia** ‘journey’ (*OLD* 4a).

35–6 ‘For he revered your household in the same fashion that you yourself revere the gods, lords of the world’, i.e. Augustus and his family. O. transfers religious language to the domain of patronage, following standard usage: *colere* ‘to worship’ the gods and ‘to cultivate’, ‘to court’ a person (*OLD* 6, 7); *penetralia* ‘the innermost part of a temple’ and ‘house’ (*OLD* 2, 3b). **non alio...ritu** ‘in no other manner’ (*OLD ritus* 2), but the context keeps the original religious sense (‘rite’, ‘sacred usage’, *OLD* 1a) before the reader’s mind. **terrarum dominos** = *Hor. Carm.* 1.1.6; see Nisbet–Hubbard *ad loc.* Cf. *Ex P.* 2.8.26 *terrarum dominum quem tua cura facit* (of Augustus).

37–8 *crede mihi*: cf. 1.4.10, McKeown on *Am.* 1.8.62. **cum**: for postponement of *cum*, cf. 1.1.40n. **dignus** ‘deservedly’, predicative; cf. *Her.* 14.124 *dignus habes*. **non fuit e multis quolibet ille minor** ‘he was not inferior to any of the many’. **e**: in a partitive sense (*OLD* 17); cf. *A. A.* 3.7 *e multis aliquis*, *Met.* 8.765 *aliquisque ex omnibus*.

39–40 This couplet’s ethical theme – that uprightness and good character make men great, not property and the famous names of ancestors – is prominent in satire; cf. *Hor. S.* 1.6.10–11 *multos saepe uiros nullis maioribus ortos | et uixisse probos, amplis et honoribus auctos*, *Juv.* 8.1 *stemmata quid faciunt?* Cf. also *Met.* 13.140–1 *nam genus et proauos et quae non fecimus ipsi, | uix ea nostra uoco*, *Sen. Ep.* 44.5 *non facit nobilem atrium plenum fumosis imaginibus... animus facit nobilem*, *Ben.* 3.18.2 *nulli praeclusa uirtus est...non eligit domum nec censum, nudo homine contenta est*. O. refers the theme to his own case at *Am.* 1.3.7–8 *si me non ueterum commendant magna parentum | nomina...*

41–56 Unlike Maximus, O. could not attend Celsus' funeral, nor can he send an offering apart from his verses, which will make Celsus' name and character known to posterity. At 44 O. turns to address the deceased Celsus and, remarkably, continues to do so for the rest of the poem, now addressing Maximus only indirectly. The shift facilitates the account of funeral rites for Celsus, performed by Maximus with such dutiful care and heartfelt grief. Maximus can discreetly overhear an account of his own praiseworthy behaviour, and we overhear it as yet a third audience. The poem ends with a mordant remark addressed to Celsus, but intended to remind Maximus that O. needs help: since Maximus so fully discharges his obligations to his dead friends, he can count O. also among them.

41–4 *iure* 'rightly'; cf. 1.2.148 *iure*. **lacrimas...libamus** 'I offer tears' as a funerary libation; cf. 1.7.29 *lacrimas, supremum in funere munus*. **adempto**: sc. *morte*, a common euphemism; cf. *Met.* 11.273 *fratrem lugebat ademptum*. **cum fugerem, uiuo quas dedit ille mihi** 'which he gave me when I was still alive, when I was going into exile'. O. hints that going into exile is the equivalent of going to one's death – a point that he will make explicit at the end of the poem (55–6). **fugerem**: like φεύγειν, *fugere* often = 'to go into exile' (*OLD* 4); cf. 1.2.128 *fuga* 'place of exile'. **uiuo...mihi** stands in ironic contrast to *Celso...adempto*. **carmina iure damus** 'rightly do I contribute verses'. The clause is parallel to 41 *iure...lacrimas...libamus*, a fact that invites the reader to regard the present poem as a funerary *nenia*, or rather a belated substitute for one; cf. 1.7.29–30n. *cui nos et lacrimas, supremum in funere munus, | et dedimus medio scripta canenda foro*, referring to O.'s tears and *nenia* for Messala, father of both Maximus, the addressee of the present poem, and Messalinus, the addressee of 1.7. **raros** 'extraordinary' (*OLD* 6); cf. *Tr.* 4.5.14 *raram...fidem*. **uenturi** 'those who are to come' (*OLD* 16b). **nomina**: poetic plural. **legant** perhaps recalls *Met.* 15.878 *ore legar populi* and its context. O., conscious as always in the exilic poetry of his ability and status as a poet, hints that his poetry will survive him to be read by many.

45–6 Cf. 3.8.17–18 *nil igitur tota Ponti regione sinistri, | quod mea sedulitas mittere posset, erat*. **hoc solum est istic quod licet**

esse mei 'this is the only part of me that can be there', sc. at Rome. *licet* here = *potest*, varying the *possum* of the hexameter. **istic** 'there, where you are' (*OLD* 1b); cf. 1.5.71 *istuc* 'to that region of yours', sc. Rome. **quod licet esse**: the accusative + infinitive stands as subject to *licet*. For the distinction between this construction and *licet* + dative of the person + infinitive, see *NLS* §212.ii, K–S | 679. *quod licet esse* = 'the presence of which is permitted', without mention of a person. Siesbye's *quoi licet esse*, in which *quoi* is neuter, is highly unlikely. **mei** is Némethy's emendation of *meum* (*M*). *hoc...mei* = *haec pars mei*; cf. *Tr.* 3.2.22 *quicquid et amissa restat in urbe mei*, *Ex P.* 3.5.42 *nescioquid certe sentit abesse sui*. Although the transmitted text gives acceptable sense ('this is the only thing of mine that can be there', i.e. that can be sent to Rome as a funerary offering), *mei* is more pointed and more Ovidian. As Gaertner *ad loc.* remarks, O. characteristically refers to his poetry as part of himself; cf. *Met.* 15.875–6 *parte tamen meliore mei super alta perennis | astra ferar* (following Hor. *Carm.* 3.30.6–7 *non omnis moriar multaque pars mei | uitabit Libitinam*), *Tr.* 1.7.20 *imposui rapidis uiscera nostra* [i.e. the *Metamorphoses*] *rogis*. Furthermore, it is a *leitmotiv* of the exilic poetry that O.'s poetry may go where he may not – a theme developed at length, for instance, in *Tr.* 1.1 and 3.1. Because the preceding and following couplets touch on this theme – O. sends his verses (43–4); he cannot attend Celsus' funeral in person (47–8) – the context supports *mei* here.

47–8 *funera...comitare...unguere corpus*: in Roman funerary practice, the anointing of the body precedes the funeral procession; see *NP* || 832–3. The freedom of Latin word-order easily permits chronological reversals of this sort; cf. 1.8.15–16n. on so-called *hysteron proteron*. **comitare**: the verb is normally deponent except in O., who uses it 32× as a non-deponent; cf. 2.3.43 *comitauit* and Galasso *ad loc.* **aque tuis toto diuidor orbe rogis**: for the chiasmic word-order, cf. 1.2.72, 104. **aque**: 1.8.33n. **diuidor** 'I am separated' (*OLD* 1b); cf. 1.5.73 *diuidimur caelo*. Here the placement of *diuidor* at the centre of the pentameter reinforces the sense, as in Gallus' use of the same verb, fr. 1 *uno tellures diuidit amne duas*.

49–50 qui potuit: in contrast to 47 *non potui*. **pro numine...**
habebas recalls 35 *coluit* and its context. **uiuus**: cf. 42 *uiuo*.
officium: often of last rites (*OLD* 1d); cf. *Tr.* 3.3.84 *sentiet officium*
maesta fauilla pium.

51–4 exequias et magni funus honoris ‘a funeral with ceremonials
of great honour’ (Wheeler–Goold). **et**: epexegetic (*OLD* 11); cf.
Met. 1.21 *deus et melior...natura* and Lee *ad loc.*, 14.518 *terrui et...
subita formidine mouit*. **fecit** ‘performed’ (*OLD* 24a). **in gelidos
uersit amoma sinus** ‘he poured amomum onto your cold breast’.

uersit: perfect of *uergere*, which O. uses here in the sense of
inuergere. The use of simple for compound verbs is common in the
poets, e.g. *piare* for *expiare*; see Bömer on *Met.* 8.483 *pianda*, 9.276
ponat. *uersit* is Heinsius’ astute emendation of *uertit*, the reading of
most MSS. The variant *fudit* (*m*) may have arisen as a gloss on
uersit. The perfect of *uergere* is very rare, but *uersi* is attested by
Probus and Sacerdos (*GLK* IV 38.24, VI 490.27); Charisius and
Diomedes give *uerxi* (*GLK* I 245.15, 369.13). *uertit*, pace Gaertner
ad loc., does not give the required sense; *uertere in* + accusative
(*OLD uerto* 19) means to turn something to a specified use. In
similar fashion, at *Met.* 4.506–7 *uergit* was ousted by *uertit* (the
reading of all MSS), *uergit furiale uenenum | pectus in amborum*;
Graevius restored *uergit*. Gronovius proposed *uergit* here as well,
but the parallel verbs are all perfect (52 *fecit*, 53 *diluit*, 54 *texit*).

amoma: a spice much used in funerary preparations; see *RE* I
2.1873–4 (Wagler). At *Tr.* 3.3.69 O. asks that his own ashes be
mixed with the leaves and powder of amomum, *atque ea* [sc. *ossa*]
cum foliis et amomi puluere misce. **diluit**: cf. *F.* 3.561 *mixta...
lacrimis unguenta*. **et** is often postponed to second position in its
clause; cf. 1.7.46 *usus et est*, Platnauer 1951: 94. **maerens...
profusis**: the actions denoted by these participles occur
simultaneously: as often, the perfect participle is, like the present
participle, contemporaneous in time with the main verb; see *NLS*
§103, Kenney on *Lucr.* 3.171. **ossaque uicina condita texit
humo** ‘and covered over his bones when they were buried in nearby
ground’. **uicina**: with this detail O. may hint at his desire that his
own bones be buried near Rome; cf. *Tr.* 3.3.70 *inque suburbano*

condita pone solo. **condita**: like *profusis* in the preceding line, this participle refers to an action contemporaneous with its verb.

55–6 ‘and since he grants what he ought to his dead friends, he can count me too among the dead’. In a grim witticism on the theme of exile as death, O. expresses a hope for the same solicitude from Maximus that Celsus’ corpse received. Addressed to Celsus, the remark is intended to remind Maximus, the addressee of the letter, of his obligations to O. **extinctis**: cf. 8 *extinctum*. **debet** pointedly recalls Celsus’ *uox celeberrima* quoted at 25–6 *respice, quantum | debeat auxilium Maximus esse tibi.* **et** ‘too’, ‘also’, qualifying a single word (OLD 5a). **annumerare**: first attested in poetry in O.’s double *Heroides* (16.330), *Tristia* (2.120, 5.4.20) and *Epistulae ex Ponto* (here and 4.16.4).

***Epistulae ex Ponto* 1.10**

The Flaccus to whom O. addresses the last poem of book 1 is almost certainly L. Pomponius Flaccus, the brother of C. Pomponius Graecinus, the addressee of 1.6. A military man like Graecinus, Flaccus attained the consulship in 17 CE, the year after his brother. Flaccus’ military exploits in O.’s own vicinity were well known to the poet, who recounts them in a long letter to Graecinus, *Ex P.* 4.9 (see Syme 1978: 83 for Flaccus’ recapture of Troesmis in 12 CE; 4.9 is dated to 16). O. cites Flaccus as a witness who can confirm his complaints about the oppressiveness of the region and the barbarity of its inhabitants (4.9.75–86). Graecinus can also learn from his brother of O.’s local reputation and how he passes his harsh life: *haec ubi narrarit, quae sit mea fama require, | quoque modo peragam tempora dura roga* (4.9.87–8). Flaccus was a friend of Tiberius, and Velleius, whose admiration for Tiberius extends also to his friends, praises Flaccus’ simplicity and modesty (2.129.1). In a contrasting picture, Suetonius recounts a prolonged feast and drinking bout that Tiberius enjoyed with Flaccus and L. Piso, after which he made Flaccus governor of Syria (42.1; see Syme 1978: 74).

If indeed Flaccus appreciated the pleasures of the table, there is some irony in the fact that O. addressed to him a complaint about loss of appetite, lassitude, sleeplessness, and their physically debilitating effects, all brought about by the wretched conditions of O.'s location and still more by *anxietas animi* (36). Here O. does not dwell on the specifics of the harshness of the region, perhaps because Flaccus was well acquainted with it from his own experience; certainly the wider audience knows all about it from O.'s earlier accounts, especially in the *Tristia* (see 1.2.13–26n.). Instead he concentrates on the resulting damage to his health.

The poem recalls earlier passages on O.'s ill-health, especially *Tr.* 3.8.23–32 and 5.13. It is especially rich in irony to the reader familiar with O.'s *Amores*. There are several pointed allusions to *Am.* 2.10, whose content and tone we are invited to recall – and its addressee as well. Graecinus, Flaccus' brother, had denied that anyone can love two women at the same time, and O. disputes the point, claiming that just such a fate has befallen him. With cheerful self-confidence he prays that wild Amor may break off inactive sleep (19 *at mihi saeuus Amor somnos abrumpat inertes*), asserts that he will be up to the task, with limbs that are skinny but not without strength (23 *sufficiam: graciles, non sunt sine uiribus artus*) and claims that taking his pleasure will nourish his strength for performance (25 *et lateri dabit in uires alimenta uoluptas*). The present poem offers a melancholy contrast to these earlier boasts; see McKeown III 200. Now that physical debility is his theme, O. is careful to forestall hostile interpretations: of the poem's five short verse-paragraphs, he devotes two to denying that he brought his ailments on himself by luxury and overindulgence (15–20, 29–36). His present defensiveness may reflect an awareness that his readers, knowing how he portrayed himself earlier, could take an uncharitable view of the contrast; but the allusive richness of the poem is largely to O.'s rhetorical advantage. As he refashions his own self-presentation, his allusions to *Am.* 2.10 call attention to the extent to which he can rely on his readers' memory of his earlier writings, confident that his reputation remains high with the wider readership as with his friends, however low it may stand with Augustus. O. turns the familiarity and

popularity of his erotic elegies to his advantage even in works like the present collection, in which he regrets the contribution that the *Ars amatoria* made to his ruin.

1–14 O.'s greeting to Flaccus passes directly into an account of his debilitating lassitude and loss of appetite.

1–2 'Naso the exile sends to you, his friend, Flaccus, a greeting, if someone can send a thing that he himself lacks.' *salutem* must be understood in a double sense, 'health' as well as 'greeting'; and O.'s health turns out to be the topic of the poem. These lines are a reworking of 1.3.1–2 *Hanc tibi Naso tuus mittit, Rufine, salutem, | qui miser est, ulli si suus esse potest* and *Tr. 5.13.1–2 Hanc tuus e Getico mittit tibi Naso salutem, | mittere si quisquam, quo caret ipse, potest*; cf. 1.3.1–2n. **Naso** also begins 1.1.1. Its position at the beginning of this, the last poem of the book, may be a mark of closure; cf. 1.1n. **suo...tibi** 'to you, his friend'. *suo* is used substantively; cf. 1.3.2 *qui miser est, ulli si suus esse potest*, OLD *suus* B7. **profugus**: cf. 1.8.50n. *profugo*.

3–4 recall *Tr. 3.8.24 ei mihi, perpetuus corpora languor habet* in a related context. **longus...languor** 'lassitude of long duration'. Hyperbaton, delaying the reader's comprehension of the subject, underscores the sense. **uitiatum** 'impaired' (OLD 1a); cf. 4.2.19 *pectora sic mea sunt limo uitata malorum*, 1.5.6n. *capiant uitium*, *Tr. 3.8.25 uitiant artus aegrae contagia mentis*. **uires**: cf. 1.4.3 *iam uigor et quasso languent in corpore uires*. **suas** 'its own', i.e. of O.'s *corpus*: as often, *suus* refers not to the grammatical subject but to the logical subject (OLD A2, NLS §36(i), K–S I 600–2).

5–6 'I have no pain, nor do I burn with attacks of fever that cause shortness of breath, and my pulse is regular.' **febribus uror** may allude to the etymology *a feruore febris*; see Maltby 1991 s.v. *febris*.

anhelis: for the adjective in this causal sense (OLD 3a), cf. *Met. 11.347 cursu festinus anhelus*, Virg. *G. 3.497 tussis anhelus* (also of disease). **peragit soliti uena tenoris iter**: lit. 'my pulse maintains the course of its usual regular movement'. **peragit...iter**: 1.4.32n.

uena 'pulse', as at 1.3.10. **tenoris** 'a sustained and even course or movement' (OLD 1a).

7–8 *os hebes est* ‘and yet my mouth lacks its sense of taste’. There is no adversative conjunction: simple juxtaposition of this couplet with the last is enough to point up the contrast between those symptoms that do not afflict O. and those that do. **hebes** ‘dull’, often of the senses (*OLD* 2b). **positaeque mouent fastidia mensae** ‘and the courses served up raise my gorge’.

positaeque...mensae: cf. *Met.* 12.211 *positis ex ordine mensis*.

mouent ‘provoke’, ‘stir up’ (*OLD* 16b); cf. *Hor. S.* 2.4.78 *magna mouet stomacho fastidia*. **inuisi...cibi**: cf. *Tr.* 3.8.28 *nec iuuat ora cibus*. **uenit** = *aduenit* (*OLD* *uenio* 16a).

9–10 *appone* ‘serve up’ (*OLD* 2); cf. 7 *positaeque*. As often, an imperative substitutes for the protasis of a conditional sentence; cf. 1.5.77–8, *Her.* 16.163 *da modo te, quae sit Paridis constantia nosces*. **nil ibi, quod nobis esuriatur, erit** ‘there will be nothing after which I would hunger’; the subjunctive is consecutive-generic.

nobis: dative of agent; cf. 1.1.48n. **esuriatur**: the transitive use of this verb is first attested here, a characteristically Ovidian innovation; cf. *Sen. Ep.* 47.8 *sciunt...quid...fastidiat, quid illo die esuriat*, *OLD* b, *TLL* v 866.82–867.5. In this couplet O. alludes to his own lines on Erysichthon, *Met.* 8.830–1 *nec mora, quod pontus, quod terra, quod educat aer | poscit et appositis queritur ieiunia mensis*. The allusion is ironic: O., unwilling to eat anything, represents himself as Erysichthon's opposite. Recognizing the allusion, the reader may reflect on further ironies in the context: the voracious Erysichthon complains (831 *queritur*) of hunger when the courses have been served; O. complains (8 *queror*) when the dinner-hour arrives.

11–14 These two couplets are an expansive and rhetorically heightened restatement of the preceding couplet: not even divine food, divine drink and a goddess as server could arouse O.'s appetite. **nectar et ambrosiam**: cf. *Met.* 14.606 *ambrosia cum dulci nectare mixta*, *Hom. Od.* 5.92–3 *παρέθηκε τράπεζαν | ἄμβροσίνης πλήσασα, κέρασσε δὲ νέκταρ ἔρυθρόν*, ‘she placed before him a table, filling it with ambrosia, and mixed red nectar’.

latices epulasque = *potum cibumque* (Scholte); both words are standard poeticisms; cf. 31 *epulis*. **det** = *si dabis/dederis*; the

jussive subjunctive, like the imperative at 9 *appone*, substitutes for the protasis of a conditional sentence; cf. *Her.* 18.193–4 *sit tumidum paucis etiamnunc noctibus aequor, | ire per inuitas experiemur aquas*, K–S || 165–6. **formosa...manu**: cf. *Her.* 18.16 *iam tibi formosam porriget illa manum*. **naua luuenta** ‘diligent Juventa’, the personified goddess of youth, identified with Hebe, cupbearer of the gods; cf. *Cic. N. D.* 1.112 *et poetae quidem nectar ambrosiamque in epulas comparant et aut luumentatem aut Ganymedem pocula ministrantem*, *Tusc.* 1.65. For the forms *iuuenta*, *iuventas* and *iuuentus*, see Heck 1970. O. uses the form *luuenta* also at *Met.* 7.240–1 *statuitque aras e caespite binas | dexteriore Hecates, at laeua parte luuenta*. **exacuet** ‘will sharpen’, often used metaphorically with senses or faculties as the object (*OLD* 1b); cf. *Hor. Ars* 402–3 *Tyrtaeusque mares animos in Martia bella | uersibus exacuit*. **torpens...palatum** ‘my sluggish palate’, i.e. sense of taste, like *os hebes* (7). **stabit** ‘will remain’ (*OLD* 9). **inerte**: ablative; cf. 1.5.8n.

15–20 In a digression of three couplets, O. points out that he would not write such things to just anyone, who might suppose that his miseries were *deliciae*, ‘daintiness’ or ‘oversensitive delicacy’ (*OLD* 5b) – a word that occurs three times, once in each couplet. Gaertner *ad loc.* suggests moving the passage to follow line 36, at the end of O.’s complaints about his health; but their place here is natural and rhetorically effective. Recognizing that the lines on his loss of appetite and bad digestion could well admit a hostile interpretation, he forestalls it with these lines. He strives to keep the reader’s perspective aligned with his own, and, by acknowledging Flaccus’ good will, invites the larger audience to share it.

15–16 *ausim*: an archaic form common in poetry, 10× in O., who also has *ausit* (2×). **cuiuis** ‘to just anyone’ = τῷι τυχόντι. **delicias ne mala nostra uocet** ‘lest he call my woes daintiness’. A clause of fearing need not depend on a governing verb or expression, but may depend on a ‘general idea of anxiety inherent in the context’ (*NLS* §189); cf. 1.1.6n.

17–18 ‘Of course such is my condition, such the shape of my affairs that there could even possibly be room for daintiness!’

scilicet marks irony, as often; cf. 1.5.20n. **is...ea** = *talis* (OLD 3), signalling a consecutive clause to follow; cf. *Tr.* 1.9.37–8 *is status, haec rerum nunc est fortuna meorum, | debeat ut lacrimis nullus adesse modus*. **status**: 1.2.52n. **ut**: for the postponement of *ut* to fourth position in its clause, cf. 1.2.15n. **locus** + dative: cf. OLD *locus* 14a, Virg. *G.* 4.226 *nec morti esse locum*, *Aen.* 4.319 *si quis adhuc precibus locus*.

19–20 ‘I pray that such daintiness as this may befall any who fears that Caesar's wrath lies too light upon me.’ **delicias**: the insistent repetition is expressive of bitter indignation. **leuior**: i.e. *quam oportet, quam decet*; see K–S || 475–6. **Caesaris ira**: cf. 1.1.49n. *principis iram*. O.'s bitter and ironic wish recalls similar expressions in Roman comedy; cf. Ter. *Eu.* 655 (and Barsby *ad loc.*), where Pythias, vexed when accused of being drunk, exclaims, *utinam sic sint qui mihi male uolunt*, ‘if only my enemies might enjoy this sort of drunkenness’. At Pl. *As.* 841 Argyrippus forces a smile (*em aspecta: rideo*), and Demaenetus replies, *utinam male qui mihi uolunt sic rideant*, ‘if only my enemies might thus smile’. Scholte aptly compares the exclamation of Prometheus, another Scythian exile, at Aesch. *Prom.* 972–3, after Hermes has remarked that Prometheus seems to be revelling in his present circumstances: χλιδῶ; χλιδῶντας ὧδε τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγὼ | ἐχθροὺς ἴδοιμι, ‘Revelling? May I see my enemies revelling in just this way!’

21–8 Sleep also is denied to O. His woes thrive in contrast to his body, whose wasted condition makes him almost unrecognizable. In view of this poem's several ironic references to *Am.* 2.10, one may recall that in that poem O. had prayed that wild Amor disrupt his sluggish sleep; see headnote.

21–4 ‘Even that sleep which is food in a thin body does not nourish my wasted body with its service.’ **qui gracili cibis est in corpore, somnus**: cf. 1.2.41–2 *medicinaque publica curae | somnus*, 1.4.21 *otia corpus alunt*. Richmond *ad loc.* compares the proverb, ‘he who sleeps, dines’, on which see McKendrick 1911: 239 ‘In consequence of diminished oxidation changes during sleep, it is not improbable that excess of nutrient matter may then be stored up in the form of fat, and that thus the proverb “He who sleeps dines” is based on a

correct appreciation of the fact that sleep tends to produce plethora or obesity.’ **gracili**: at 1.4.51–2 O. uses the adjective also of his wife's body, made skinny by concern for him, *amplectique meis corpus non pingue lacertis, | et ‘gracile hoc fecit’ dicere ‘cura mei’*.

inane ‘shrunk’, ‘wasted’ (OLD 2c), more extreme than *gracili* in the preceding line. **sed uigilo uigilantque mei sine fine dolores** ‘but I remain awake, and my woes endlessly remain awake’. The first use of *uigilare* is literal, the second metaphorical; cf. 1.2.44 *et uigilant sensus in mea damna mei*. The line recalls *Am.* 2.10.11 *quid geminas, Erycina, meos sine fine dolores?* As often in the exilic poetry, O. revises his earlier utterance and self-presentation, the woes of exile replacing those of love. Much of the vocabulary employed in the present context once described the wasting effects of love, e.g. at *A. A.* 1.735–6 *attenuant iuuenum uigilatae corpora noctes | curaque et in magno qui fit amore dolor*. **quorum materiam dat locus ipse mihi** ‘and the place itself provides me with nourishment for them’. Instead of nourishing his body, the place nourishes his woes. **materiam** ‘nutriment’, ‘food’ (OLD 4c); cf. *Her.* 7.34 *materiam curae praebeat ille meae*, *Met.* 8.875–6 *uis...illa mali postquam consumpserat omnem | materiam deerantque graui noua pabula morbo*. The word is a favourite of O.’s (47×; see McKeown on *Am.* 1.1.1–2) and an instance of his willingness to use ‘prosaic’ vocabulary where it expresses his meaning precisely (cf. 1.7.8n *notitiam*, Kenney 2002: 36n57).

25–6 ‘Scarcely, therefore, would you be able to recognize my face if you saw it, and you would ask what has become of its former complexion’, lit. ‘to what place’ it ‘has vanished’. **uisos**: the participle is used conditionally; cf. 1.4.5 *nec, si me subito uideas, agnoscere possis*, also in a context of physical damage wrought by O.’s misfortunes. **quoque ierit quaeras qui fuit ante color**: the compressed expression – three clauses packed into one pentameter – is characteristic of the *Epistulae ex Ponto*. **ierit** = *abierit*; cf. OLD *abeo* 12, *Her.* 3.141 *abiit corpusque colorque*. **qui fuit ante color** = *A. A.* 1.120, *F.* 6.168 in the same *sedes*; *qui fuit ante* also at *Her.* 7.112, *F.* 6.88. Pallor described in similar terms once was caused by love in O.’s poetry (*Her.* 11.27 *fugerat ore color*), now by the miseries

of exile (*Tr.* 4.6.41 *nam neque sunt uires, nec qui color esse solebat*).

27–8 exiles ‘thin’, ‘scrawny’, varying 21 *gracili*, 22 *inane*; cf. Prop. 2.22.21–2 *sed tibi si exiles uideor tenuatus in artus | falleris* (of the wasting effect of love). Propertius’ poem is a model for *Am.* 2.10, an ironic subtext for the present poem; hence McKeown III 200 regards line 27 here as a ‘by-passing of the intermediate model’, also known as window-allusion. **sucus** ‘juice’, hence ‘vigour’ (*OLD* 3b), but the literal sense of vital fluid is prominent here; cf. Ter. *Eu.* 318 *corpus solidum et suci plenum* and Don. *ad loc.*: *sucus est humor in corpore quo abundant bene ualentes*. **peruenit** ‘reaches’, ‘arrives at’ so as to provide nourishment; cf. Lucretius’ account of food, distributed *in membra atque artus...omnis*, which provides him with an analogy for the dispersion of soul throughout the body, *Lucr.* 3.702–4.

membraque: a synonym for *artus* in the preceding line. **cera pallidiora noua**: cf. *Priap.* 32.1–2 *puella... | buxo pallidior nouaque cera*. Plin. *Nat.* 21.83–5 describes techniques of preparing fresh wax to ensure whiteness.

29–36 As in 15–20, O. defends himself against an unfriendly misinterpretation of his complaints. He did not bring his ailments on himself by overindulgence in drink, food or sex. In fact the water, the place and above all mental anxiety are to blame. He allots one couplet to each of three false suppositions, adding a fourth for the true cause.

29–30 *non haec...contraxi damna* ‘I did not contract these losses.’ The metaphor is from commerce; cf. *OLD* *contraho* 8b, Cic. *Fin.* 5.91 *nec mercatura quaestuosa si in maximis lucris paulum aliquid damni contraxerit*. **non**: to make his threefold denial the more emphatic, O. repeats *non* at the beginning of the following couplet and begins the next with *nec*; cf. 1.3.51–2n. **Lyaeo** ‘wine’ by metonymy, the wine-god’s name substituting for wine; cf. *Lucr.* 2.655–7 *si quis... Bacchi nomine abuti | mauult quam laticis proprium proferre uocamen*. *Lyaeus* (‘the loosener’) was originally a cult-epithet of Bacchus; see Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Carm.* 1.7.22 *Lyaeo*, Mankin, Watson on *Epod.* 9.38. **scis mihi quam solae paene bibantur aquae**: cf. 1.5.45 *nec iuuat in lucem nimio marcescere uino*, 4.2.41

nec uinum nec me tenet alea fallax. **mihi**: dative of agent; cf. 10n. *nobis*. **quam...paene**: lit. 'how nearly', introducing an indirect question; cf. the exclamatory use at 3.6.1 *posuit nomen quam paene*, *Tr.* 4.5.10 *excidit heu nomen quam mihi paene tuum*, etc. **aquae**: poetic plural.

31–2 *epulis*: cf. 11n. **oneror**: cf. *OLD* 5, *Sal. Jug.* 76.6 *uino et epulis onerati*. **quarum**: connecting relative (*NLS* §230.6). **si** 'even if' with concessive force (*OLD* 9a). **tangar amore**: to be 'touched by desire' is a favourite Ovidian expression; cf. *Tr.* 1.1.53 *tituli tangebar amore*; *Am.* 2.1.6; *A. A.* 2.684; 3.541, 588, 682; *Met.* 8.184, 9.720, 10.636; *F.* 5.653. **copia nulla**: cf. 1.3.51 *non ager hic pomum, non dulces educat uuas*. **locis** 'regions' (*OLD* 1b); cf. *Tr.* 4.8.16 *Sarmaticis...locis*.

33–4 *uires adimit*: cf. *Met.* 3.469 *dolor uires adimit*. **Veneris damnosa uoluptas**: *damnosa* recalls 29 *damna*; cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1.18.21 *quem damnosa Venus, quem praeceps alea nudat*. The hexameter offers an ironic reflection on *Am.* 2.10.25 *et lateri dabit in uires alimenta uoluptas*; see McKeown *ad loc.* In that poem O. had sided with Propertius in rejecting the common view that sexual indulgence is debilitating; cf. *Prop.* 2.22A.28 *nullus amor uires eripit ipse suas*, 3.21.4 *ipse alimenta sibi maxima praebet amor*. In the present context O. no longer maintains that position, for it is rhetorically effective to grant the common view in insisting that no kind of *uoluptas* is the cause of *his* ill-health. **in maestos...toros**: i.e. 'the beds of the sad', a mild personification. **illa** could be taken as resumptive, referring to *uoluptas*, or as changing the subject to Venus. O. ironically alludes to an etymology of Venus from *uenire*: the goddess who 'comes to all' is not, however, accustomed to coming *in maestos...toros*; cf. *Cic. N. D.* 2.69 *quae autem dea ad res omnes ueniret Venerem nostri nominauerunt*, 3.62 *Venus quia uenit ad omnia*, *Arnob. Nat.* 3.33 *quod ad cunctos ueniat, Venerem*.

35–6 *unda locusque nocent*: a summary instance of *asperitas loci*. O. often complains of the poor and unhealthy water of Tomis; cf. 2.7.73–4 *est in aqua dulci non inuidiosa uoluptas: | aequoreo bibitur cum sale mixta palus*, 3.1.17–18, *Tr.* 3.8.23. **causa ualentior**: *causa ualens* is an Ovidian expression, unattested in earlier writers;

cf. *Tr.* 1.8.29 *causisque ualentibus*, *A. A.* 1.466, *Met.* 5.174.
anxietas animi: cf. 1.4.8 *anxietas animi, continuusque labor*.

37–44 In a concluding appeal, addressed first to Flaccus, then to Flaccus and his brother together, O. gratefully acknowledges their aid and asks for its continuance so long as Caesar's anger against him remains.

37–8 *haec nisi tu...leuares* 'if you had not been relieving these afflictions'. The imperfect serves as a continuative pluperfect; see G–L 597n.1, *Cic. Ver.* 2.1.3 *neque enim tam facile opes Carthagini tantae concidissent nisi illud et rei frumentariae subsidium et receptaculum classibus nostris pateret*, 'nor would the great resources of Carthage have fallen so readily if Sicily had not been lying open to our fleets, providing them with grain and harbourage'. For the generalized *haec*, whose more specific reference is to be inferred from the context, cf. 4.14.1 *haec* [sc. *uerba*] *tibi mittuntur*, *Her.* 1.1 *haec tua Penelope lento tibi mittit, Vlixē*. **pariter...cum** 'together with'. The words are often used together; cf. 2.2.7 *mecum pariter*, *Tr.* 5.14.5, etc. They are synonymous with *una cum* (*Met.* 6.714). **simili** 'of similar character'. **tristitiae**: aptly mentioned here, as Gaertner *ad loc.* notes, because medical treatises mention *tristitia* as an illness; cf. *Cels.* 2.12.1b *cum tristitia insanientibus*, 3.18.17 *alterum insaniae genus...consistit in tristitia*.

39–40 *uos*: i.e. both Flaccus and his brother, who are addressed together for the rest of the letter. **fracto...phaselo**: exile as shipwreck is a favourite metaphor of O.'s; cf. 1.2.60n. *phaselos* (φάσηλος, a kind of bean) is used of bean-shaped boats large and small (see Fordyce on *Catul.* 4.1), but here one should think of a small and fragile craft, susceptible to storms; cf. *Am.* 2.10.9 *erro uelut uentis discordibus acta phaselos*, *Hor. Carm.* 3.2.28–9 *fragilemque...phaselon*. O.'s use of the word only here and at *Am.* 2.10.9 (where it is feminine; see McKeown *ad loc.*) is a further link between the two poems. **tellus non dura** 'very soft ground'. *non dura* = *mollissima* (litotes); cf. 1.2.59–60 *credo | mollia naufragiis litora posse dari*. O. similarly uses *portus* of a person who provides refuge at *Her.* 1.110 *tu citius uenias, portus et ara tuis* (Scholte).

quamque negant multi...opem: O. touches on the theme of his

abandonment by his friends; cf. 1.4.34n. *at nostram cuncti destituere fugam*, 1.9.15 *adfuit ille mihi, cum me pars magna reliquit*.

41–2 *ferre*: sc. *opem*. **precor**: often parenthetically inserted in the context of an imperative, like *quaeso*; cf. 1.6.17n., 1.8.72n.

Caesaris...numen ‘divine Caesar’. The divinity of the god = the god himself (OLD *numen* 4b). **offensum** recalls *Tr.* 5.10.52 *Caesaris offenso numine*; cf. *Tr.* 1.10.42 *offensi...ira dei*, *F.* 1.482 *offenso pulsus es urbe deo*. **dum**: postponed to third position in its clause also at *Tr.* 4.5.9, 5.2.73; see further Helzle *ad loc.*

43–4 *qui*: the antecedent is *Caesaris*. **meritam...iram**; cf. 1.1.49n. *merui...principis iram*. **nobis** can be taken as dative of advantage with the verbs that follow (‘for my benefit’) or, less probably, as dative of agent with *meritam* (‘deserved by me’; cf. 1.1.48n.). **minuat, non finiat, iram, [...uestros...rogate deos]**: for the ellipse of *ut* (OLD *rogo* 6b) cf. *Met.* 6.508 *absentes pro se memori rogat ore salutent* and Bömer *ad loc.*, 12.176 *narretque rogant*. *non* instead of *ne* is required when the negation applies to an individual word, which is set in opposition to another; cf. *Cic. De orat.* 1.133 *nostro more aliquando, non rhetorico loquamur*, K–S | 191–2. O. refers to his desire for a milder place of exile; cf. 1.1.76–80.

minuat...iram: cf. 2.1.47 *cur ego posse negem minui mihi numinis iram*, 3.9.27 *di mites minuant mihi Caesaris iram*. **uestros...deos** ‘your gods’, i.e. those who favour you and whom you favour. Many see here a reference to members of the imperial family, but the expression is not limited to them. Metrical considerations aside, O. could have written *suos...deos*; cf. *Rem.* 74 *uindictae quisque fauete suae*. **quisque rogate** = *uterque uestrum roga*. O. construes *quisque* with a plural imperative also at *Tr.* 5.3.48 *haec eadem sumpto quisque rogate mero*, *Rem.* 74 *uindictae quisque fauete suae*, *Her.* 13.130 *uestras quisque redite domos*; cf. 2.10.18 *quisque sequamur iter*, K–S | 22–5.

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